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CONVERGING CLAIMS TO SOCIAL INCLUSION VIA TOURISM IN  
SALVADOR, BRAZIL: COSMOPOLITAN TOURISTS AND LOW-INCOME  
RESIDENTS

BY

ERIN FLYNN MCKENNA

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Carla Santos, Chair, Director of Research  
Professor William Stewart  
Associate Professor Ellen Moodie  
Assistant Professor Amanda Ciafone

## ABSTRACT

As international tourism has become a trillion-dollar industry (UNWTO, 2013) and the world is seemingly more interconnected than ever, we see new trends emerging in the tourism sector to take advantage of the economic and cultural opportunities that international tourism presents. Two of those trends include the cosmopolitan formation of tourists: a tendency to engage in tourism endeavors that facilitate cross-cultural skills so as to acquire global citizen status, and low-income tourism: the simultaneous tendencies to use tourism as a means to alleviate poverty while others engage in tourism as a means to be exposed to it. Both of these trends produce groups of people: low-income locals and cosmopolitan-aspiring tourists, for whom social inclusion is a goal of their participating in tourism. This paper explores these two converging claims to social inclusion in Salvador, Brazil through ethnographic research.

The paper first addresses the social inclusion of the locals, as social inclusion literature has primarily focused on the exclusion of marginalized and underprivileged populations, a group to which the low-income locals belong. Through interviews and participant observation of people from Salvador's low-income communities who are working on establishing tourism to their neighborhoods, as well as several tours that took place there, this paper establishes that social inclusion is a goal and is possible in certain circumstances, but that it is hard to accomplish because it is hard to establish tourism and keep it sustainable in an inclusive way.

Next the paper addresses the social inclusion of the cosmopolitan-aspiring tourists. Because the concept of social inclusion has never been applied to the tourists insofar as what they are aiming to accomplish, this chapter first establishes how we can understand social inclusion to be a goal of these tourists. It then goes on to demonstrate the ways in which social inclusion occurs and does not occur in the tourism experiences of the tourists. Because one

group of cosmopolitan-aspiring tourists proved exceptional, both in their willingness to participate in this study and in their desire to not only be included in Salvador but to also participate in low-income tourism, this final group that is discussed separately provides further insights into the goals of social inclusion as well as the ways in which low-income locals' claims to social inclusion and the tourists' claims come together.

Ultimately this paper allows for conclusions to be drawn about social inclusion for the two groups separately and together, providing us with a greater understanding of these converging claims in a global system. The low-income locals highlight the importance of establishing inclusion internally while also demonstrating that inclusion on a local level can be facilitated through inclusion at the global level. The tourists illustrate the importance of understanding how inclusion fits into their goals in order to manage expectations and foster more positive outcomes. In looking at the two groups together, we see a complex power dynamic emerge between the cosmopolitan-aspiring tourists and the low-income locals, where each group holds power over the other in terms of the degree of social inclusion in the destination society. However, because the tourists are simultaneously desiring global citizen status, or inclusion on the global level, they can spin their experiences at the local level however they like and still find that global inclusion. The locals, in contrast do not have that ability and for that reason we can see that the tourists, have a different degree of power than the locals in regards to social inclusion in a global system.

*For Reimare who provided the necessary distraction and inspiration to complete this project.*

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Two Claims to Social Inclusion in Tourism

As international tourism has become a trillion-dollar industry (UNWTO, 2013) and the world is seemingly more interconnected than ever, we see new trends emerging in the tourism sector to take advantage of the economic and cultural opportunities that international tourism presents. Tourism has been declared to be a pathway to development (Mowforth & Munt 2016), thus, countries, cities and neighborhoods have turned to tourism to reap economic benefits (Bowman 2013). Multicultural experiences are continuously touted as a necessity for anyone seeking to advance in the global world (Snee 2014). For that reason, international tourists are increasingly pursuing opportunities that will provide them with skills and experiences to be able to declare themselves multiculturally competent or to claim to be global citizens (Lewin 2009). As certain communities turn to tourism to foster development and certain tourists seek multicultural skills, we see two distinct claims to social inclusion emerge via the process of tourism. These claims to social inclusion can be analyzed as a way to understand how a desire for inclusion functions on multiple levels in tourism.

For the members of local communities, social inclusion involves gaining greater access to resources and opportunities while being recognized as valued members of society. The goal of social inclusion typically is aimed towards the inclusion of certain underprivileged or marginalized members of society (Buvinic, 2004, Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud 2002). The explicit goal of social inclusion is often incorporated into the plan of a governing body, but reflects an overall desire and sentiment of marginalized people to be valued and given access to a

fuller membership experience. Tourism is not the only vehicle by which social inclusion can be accomplished for local people in a tourist destination; however, given tourism's potential for developing economic activities and highlighting cultural practices, it is an attractive sector to rely on to address the social exclusion that plagues the destination more broadly. For that reason we see social inclusion of locals listed as objectives of tourism in the industry, and a small number of academic studies have evaluated the degree to which tourism does foster social inclusion in specific contexts (see chapter 2 for a full review).

For tourists, social inclusion entails gaining access to the host society on a personal level and often serves as a benchmark for multi-cultural competence. Inclusion means that not only has one been in a situation to observe cultural differences, but that the person has successfully navigated the differences so as to have been accepted by the local people. Not all tourists use their travel experiences to obtain multi-cultural competence and nor do all tourists expect inclusion. It tends to be an issue relevant to those tourists seeking a cosmopolitan or global citizen status through their travel. While scholars are increasingly looking at these types of tourists (Salazar, 2015; Snee 2014; Lyons, Hanley, Wearing, & Neil, 2012, Molz, 2006, 2007, 2011; Swain 2009) however, the issue of social inclusion has yet to be considered. This is likely because the term social inclusion has come to be associated with the process of underprivileged people gaining greater access to the whole of society, and thus more related to the social inclusion of marginalized locals than to tourists. Tourists can be categorized in a variety of ways, but underprivileged is not one of them. Therefore, the social inclusion of tourists is different from the social inclusion of locals, yet it still reveals a desire for access and acknowledgement by the perceived dominant cultural group.

While the specific idea of social inclusion for tourists has not been addressed, there are a

number of related ideas that scholars have evaluated in regards to cosmopolitan or global citizen tourists including the extent to which they actually acquire multicultural competence (Lyons, et. al. 2012; Snee 2014, Swain 2009) and immersion and integration. Thus, the present study will be able to speak to those literatures as outlined in chapters two and five.

Despite the differences between the two claims to social inclusion, they both produce interesting power dynamics among tourists, locals, tourism and program officials and the government. These power dynamics are far more complex than what is typically conveyed when relying on the tourist-local dichotomy and are worthwhile to understand as tourism is championed as the key to development and immersive travel experiences expand because of their ability to cultivate global citizens. Moreover, understanding the process of obtaining social inclusion via tourism will reveal the murky ways in which power is manifested and maintained in a global world.

In order to investigate these two claims to social inclusion in tourism, I focus on these two different tourism trends: low-income tourism and cosmopolitan-oriented tourism as I conduct ethnographic research in Salvador, Brazil. For the low-income tourism trend, there are a number of low-income, peripheral communities in Salvador engaged in community-based tourism and there are several other independent tourism projects emerging from these areas. I look at the experiences of the locals in developing their tourism projects, attracting tourists and conducting the tours. In some cases I am also able to observe the experiences of tourists in these communities. For the cosmopolitan tourism trend, I look at tourists who fit into what I am referring to as the cosmopolitan formation of tourists: tourists who are engaged in alternative tourism activities that demonstrate a concern and interest in the people of the destination, while simultaneously seeking to acquire multi-cultural skills valued in the globalized world. Those

alternative tourism activities include living with host families, learning Portuguese, taking other classes that provide insight into the local culture, or volunteering with a local organization. I evaluate the tourists' experiences as well as seek the perspective of local people who contribute to these tourists' experiences: members of host families, language or other instructors, and people who work at the organizations where tourists volunteer.

## **1.2 Research Setting: Salvador, Brazil**

The Brazilian city of Salvador makes for an intriguing setting to investigate these two claims to social inclusion in tourism. While more background on Salvador will be provided in the next chapter, it is important to highlight some of Salvador's characteristics as they relate to this project before moving forward. As Brazil's third largest city, it is also number three (following São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) for attracting international tourists (SETUR 2012). Apart from the city's extensive coastline filled with public beaches, which undoubtedly appeals to tourists, Salvador is overflowing with cultural tourism attractions. To begin, Salvador's historic center has been recognized as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO's program to acknowledge sites that contribute to the world's shared humanity. The cobblestone streets, colonial architecture and brightly-colored buildings are a charming setting for tourists to wander through the shops, museums, bars and restaurants that fill the neighborhood. Salvador is also known as the cradle of Afro-Brazilian culture (Pinho 2010). This means that traditions such as *capoeira*, an afro-Brazilian martial art and *Candomblé*, a syncretic Afro-Brazilian religion have origins in the city and continue to be practiced there. Tourists looking to experience those things in their site of origin join capoeira classes and participate in *rodas* (capoeira matches) or attend a Candomblé *festa* (fete) or have their *Orixá* determined by a *pai de santo* (priest). In addition Afro-Brazilian music genres like *Pagode*, *Axé*, and Samba Reggae are frequently produced and

performed in Salvador and tourists have opportunities not only to listen to the music but can also take music or dance classes at various sites throughout the city. Salvador's cuisine is also heavily influenced by its African heritage, but also includes elements from indigenous, European and Arabic culinary traditions. In this way it essentializes Brazil's "melting pot" heritage: a mix of the three main traditions, Portuguese, African and indigenous as well as other traditions that have seeped into the country over centuries.

All of these things make Salvador a place where one can go to just inhale cultural otherness. It is a hotbed for tourist-types with a higher-than-average interest in the cultural traditions practiced in Salvador. Researchers study the Afro-Brazilian, African or African diaspora culture. Professionals visit Salvador seeking greater exposure to Salvador's famed dance, music, martial arts, religious, and culinary traditions. In addition, Salvador houses at least a dozen schools for Portuguese-language learning, often relying on the city's cultural productions to enhance learning by offering supplemental classes in dance, capoeira, cooking and excursions to Candomblé houses or other places around the city. Thus, when speaking about Salvador's tourists, while there is still a significant number of people who merely go to the city for its sun and sand, there are also a lot of tourists with an acute interest in and knowledge about the local cultural productions.

Beyond the cultural productions, however, Salvador's cultural milieu also has the power to intrigue tourists. It is a large metropolis with many of the standard features of such a place. There are several huge malls that house multiplex cinemas and restaurants offering diverse cuisine. There are a number of art and history museums and art cinemas that play films from around the world. Salvador also faces severe poverty and economic disparity. As the largest city in Brazil's poorest region, the Northeast, where 37 percent of the population was living in

extreme poverty in 2009 (De Bremaeker, 2010), Salvador receives an influx of migrants from the region who generally reside in the periphery of the city. The city's peripheral zones are marked by their poverty, underdevelopment and lack of access to the central areas of the city.

With the juxtaposition of cosmopolitan city life, i.e. shopping malls, museums and international cuisine, with intense poverty, Salvador is a prototype for many cities in developing economy countries. In this way, Salvador offers an international experience that is, in some ways, transferable to other places. Moreover, for those tourists interested in addressing global inequality, cities like Salvador provide opportunities to do that by getting involved in NGOs or projects such as education reinforcement, alternatives to substance abuse, micro-finance loans, environmental awareness, etc. that address issues associated with poverty. In addition, due to Brazil's recent rise to global economic importance, the value placed on knowledge of the Portuguese language has increased. Thus, combining travel with Portuguese language-learning means Brazil will definitely be a preferred destination. While there are many destinations one could choose in Brazil, the sheer number of language schools, combined with all of these other assets that Salvador offers, does make it a compelling option.

In this regard, Salvador has a lot going on in terms of attracting tourists in general, attracting the cosmopolitan-aspiring tourists relevant to this study in particular, and in offering a plethora of opportunities for tourists to visit low-income neighborhoods. While there are other places in Brazil and in the world that would offer insights into the questions I am posing, Salvador is unique in its intensity of cultural heritage, which adds a particular dimension to the research. This, however, is not to suggest that the context of Salvador is so different that insights gained from this study cannot have a wider application to places with similar economic/demographic/geographic characteristics.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

There are multiple aims to my research project. First, in regards to social inclusion, this project has the potential to do a variety of things. Because social inclusion is not a term that has been previously applied to tourists, this project allows for a new way of understanding the aims of certain types of tourists as well as some of the misrepresentations of this aim that are prevalent in both academic tourism literature as well as literature produced by tourism organizations. This points to the need for greater specificity in the language used in tourism literature regarding social inclusion and similar processes for tourists.

While not completely new, my application of social inclusion to marginalized populations does bring up some new points. For example the potential for community-based tourism to lead to social inclusion has not specifically been evaluated. Because I look in-depth at a community-based tourism organization, this project can provide insights into this process. In particular, it allows the communities to discuss what social inclusion means for them.

Finally, because I look at these two groups seeking social inclusion via tourism and one of the groups represents a global population while another represents the local population, I expect this project to be able to demonstrate how social inclusion converges on these different levels and what the outcome is. Social inclusion literature is lacking when it comes to considering the concept on a global scale, and thus I aim for this project to start to fill that gap.

In addition to social inclusion, this project also potentially contributes to literature on cosmopolitanism, specifically in relationship to tourism and low-income tourism. The cosmopolitan formation of tourists that I identify refers to a phenomenon that is fairly widespread and captures a variety of different types of alternative tourism. I expect this research to illustrate what this trend is and also, given the value that is often allocated to these types of



tourism, to provide insights into whether that value is properly allocated given the outcomes of such tourism.

In regards to the low-income tourism trend, I am also bringing together a couple different types of tourism. One of those is community-based tourism, and I have a number of objectives with my research on this topic. First, I want to highlight how CBT is not only a rural phenomenon. Scholarship on CBT is predominantly focused on rural areas often pointing to the breakdown of community that occurs in urban centers (Mann, 2000; Phillips & Roberts, 2013). In Salvador, CBT is becoming increasingly popular among low-income communities within the city, challenging the idea that community is disarticulated in the city and suggesting that CBT has great potential in a wider range of venues than is often considered. Second, I am interested in looking at urban CBT as an overlooked part of low-income tourism, and a part that potentially provides an answer to many of the concerns low-income tourism presents. Finally, I want to offer my contribution of analyzing low-income tourism through the eyes of the low-income residents. As Freire-Medeira points out, far too few analyses of low-income tourism take into account the voices of the residents (2012). While by no means perfect, my project, which takes into account perspectives of tourists, leaders and residents, will hopefully help to compensate for that absence.

While this research is focused on Salvador, Brazil, it is the aim of this research to not only provide specific insights into the realities of tourism in Salvador, but to also shed light on tourism processes the world over. In terms of Salvador, there is no doubt that specificities about the city's geography, demographics, and idiosyncrasies will be revealed and analyzed. In this way, this research will be able to offer insights into the unique successes and challenges that the city of Salvador and the tourists going there face. However, Salvador is also not unique in many

ways. Cosmopolitan tourists are not limited only to Salvador and low-income tourism happens in many other places. Moreover, a number of countries are in similar situations to Brazil insofar as they are emerging markets, gaining more clout internationally, but still face a number of obstacles and intense disparities in wealth and opportunities. Many of these countries are still looking to tourism as a means to enhance development, thus, this research should provide insight into these processes.

#### **1.4 A note on terms**

There are a number of terms that need to be clarified before delving into this study. First of all, I am exploring international tourism and thus looking at international tourists. For that reason when I refer to tourists in this study, I am always talking about international tourists unless otherwise specified. In this study, then, a tourist is someone who is not originally from Brazil, who resides outside of Brazil and has come to Salvador for a temporary stay of anywhere from a portion of a day to 365 days. For the most part, I am looking at tourists who are trying to have an in-depth experience in Salvador, which leads to a longer-term stay. I did not interview anyone staying for less than three weeks in Salvador and one stayed as long as nine months. In cases of people who have a Brazilian parent and because of this, Brazilian citizenship, unless they have spent more time in Brazil than outside of Brazil, they are considered tourists in this study.

I am looking at tourists whose activities fit into the trend of the cosmopolitan formation of tourists. As I clarify in the next chapter, fitting into this formation does not necessarily make one a cosmopolitan. However, in the interest of being succinct, sometimes I refer to the tourists as cosmopolitan tourists. This should be read with the understanding that they are part of the formation rather than that I am declaring them to have acquired the cosmopolitan status.

Regarding the Salvador residents, the general term I use to talk about them is locals. I intentionally use this broad term because when the tourism destination is a city, people are not equally affected by the presence of tourists. Thus, they are not all “hosts,” or the “toured,” or part of the “destination community.” There is a lot of diversity in the locals that participate in this study, and thus my discussion of locals will require specifications regarding people’s relationship to tourism and to tourists (i.e. host families/organizations, tour guides, low-income locals involved in tourism to their low-income neighborhoods, tourism officials, leaders or colleagues at volunteer sites, etc.).

In terms of the terminology for people receiving tourists in their homes, I use language that reflects the familial relationship that some, but not all tourists are expecting to find. For example, I use the terms host family, host mom, host dad, host siblings, etc. I find that referring to these people through familial terms, as a number of tourists do, reflects the expectation to be socially included, the way one would typically be included in a family. Thus, even though not all tourists use these terms, a good number do, and in discussing and analyzing the idea of social inclusion, it makes sense to use them as well.

## **1.5 Chapter Overview**

In addition to decisions about terminology, it is important to provide an overview about the organization of the rest of this paper. Chapter two provides background on the different topics and bodies of literature relevant to this study including Salvador, globalization, social inclusion, cosmopolitanism and low-income tourism. In each case, special attention is paid to how each topic connects to each other, especially looking at tourism, globalization and Salvador.

Chapter three addresses the methods used in conducting the research and analysis. In this chapter I discuss the idea of multi-sited ethnography and how it applies to this project before

talking about my ethnographic approaches via participant observation and semi-structured interviews. I discuss my position as a researcher and then introduce the different organizations who were particularly crucial to the study. This enables me to also discuss how I recruited research participants.

Chapters four through six are my data chapters. Chapter four starts out discussing the more typical application of the concept of social inclusion by looking at the degree to which locals from peripheral neighborhoods are being socially included via tourism. It first demonstrates that social inclusion, is in fact an objective of the local people, before discussing both the successes and obstacles in obtaining social inclusion.

Chapter five then discusses the social inclusion for the tourists. This chapter starts out by delving into how we can come to understand social inclusion as something that certain tourists are seeking through their travels. Because the concept of social inclusion has not previously been applied to tourists, this is an important component of this chapter that requires putting literature on social inclusion, tourism, immersion, and integration into conversation with each other and then also providing examples from my data. Once that has been established, I reveal the successes and challenges that the tourists in my study experience in obtaining social inclusion. In this chapter, I discuss the experiences and perspectives of the majority of the tourists and host families/organizations with whom I conducted research. There is one organization that I save for chapter six.

Chapter six follows a different format from the other two data chapters. Chapter six focuses entirely on one tourist organization: Global Citizen Year (GCY). The reasons for this are several-fold. First, this organization was unique from the others because it actively attempted to place its tourists in low-income neighborhoods both for lodging and to volunteer. In this way,

the organization was less concerned about some of the amenities of the homes like hot water/running water and internet. Because of this, the experiences of the tourists participating in this organization often shed light on the intersections between the cosmopolitan formation of tourists and low-income tourism. This allows for a very interesting analysis of the simultaneous quest for social inclusion of these two groups that is not visible in the other tourist organizations.

Second, Global Citizen Year, perhaps more than any other organization I worked with, fully encapsulated the cosmopolitan formation of tourists. It makes it even more surprising that I did not find out about the organization until my second field research trip, after I defined this formation as one focus of my research. Because it fits so perfectly into the idea I have of the formation, to go into depth about the organization and the tourists' experiences really allows me to provide evidence of what the formation looks like and how a desire for social inclusion contributes to it.

Finally, Global Citizen Year proved to be a small, but very cooperative organization for my study. Five of the six Salvador-based tourists agreed to be interviewed and three of them agreed to a follow-up. Many of the interviews lasted over two hours. In addition, the program coordinator agreed to an interview and a number of the tourists invited me to their volunteer sites and to social outings. This made for a very rich data set about the program and their experiences. Because the data is there, it makes sense to present it in away that makes use of its depth, further illustrating the details of the cosmopolitan formation of tourists and the experiences, feelings, and reactions the tourists have regarding social inclusion in Salvador.

This leads to chapter seven, the final chapter, in which conclusions are presented and discussed. The conclusions regarding the social inclusion of the locals and the social inclusion of the tourists are presented separately before an analysis and discussion of the conclusions that

can be drawn from the intersections between the cosmopolitan tourists and the low-income locals. That last part is primarily drawn from the experiences of GCY. The concluding chapter highlights the contributions this research makes as well as the limitations and potential for future work.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **BACKGROUND**

In undertaking research to accomplish the stated objectives, it was necessary to conduct a thorough review of academic literature on a variety of relevant subjects including: Salvador, globalization, social inclusion, cosmopolitanism and low-income tourism. Thus, this chapter is dedicated to providing the background information, theories and consideration of previous scholarly works that allowed me to define and carry out my study. This chapter will first cover a brief history of Salvador touching on some of the points that have led to the massive inequality present in the city today. Then, there will be a broad discussion of globalization theory leading more specifically into globalization as it relates to urban settings and tourism as a means of setting a framework for this study. I will then review literature on social inclusion/exclusion starting with the origins and general understanding of the concept before moving into literature that more specifically ties into this project like social inclusion in relationship to globalization, Latin America, Brazil and tourism. Ultimately, in that section I will point to the gaps in the social inclusion literature that carve a space for the present study. The gaps in the social inclusion literature will lead me to discuss cosmopolitanism/global citizen tourism, which is the subsequent section in the literature review. This will also include an overall history of cosmopolitanism as well as homing in on the cosmopolitan tourist phenomenon more specific to this study. Finally, I will cover low-income tourism and specifically community-based tourism as that is a particular kind of low-income tourism that is taking off in Salvador and is an important part of this study.

#### **2.1 Salvador da Bahia**

Salvador, Brazil's third largest city, is the present-day capital of the state of Bahia, located in the Northeast region of Brazil. Upon Portuguese arrival to South America, Bahia and later, Salvador were integral parts of the Portuguese empire. On an expedition that was planning to go to India, the Portuguese fleet led by Pedro Álvares Cabral went off course and landed in the area that is now the state of Bahia on April 23, 1500 (Skidmore, 1999). The Portuguese arrived at what is presently the city of Salvador on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1501, giving the name Bahia (Bay) of All Saints to the body of water for which the state became named. Salvador, as a city was established in 1549, when it was named the capital of Brazil (Skidmore, 1999). It remained the capital until 1763 when it moved to Rio de Janeiro (Riggs, 2008).

During the period of colonization, Salvador was a highly important and wealthy city in the world. Elaborate churches, government buildings and mansions were built in the elevated portion of the city during the colonial period. The geography of the city was such that it had both an Atlantic coast as well as a coast along the bay. The coast along the bay became known as the lower city as it was separated from the upper city by a steep incline. The lower city was the center of commerce while the upper city was the center of government. Much of Salvador's importance and wealth was due to the international slave trade. Salvador was the port of entry for ships going to Brazil. The slaves were taken directly to Salvador where they were exchanged for Brazil's raw materials, which were then transported to Europe. Salvador was the primary point of encounter between the African, European and native populations of Brazil. While the majority of Europeans going to Brazil were Portuguese, there were also a number of other Europeans including the French and the Dutch who were interested in obtaining, among other materials, the sugar, gold, and wood of Brazil. Salvador, was a very international city during the colonial period receiving these merchants from different places.



The Portuguese established a mono-crop system in Brazil that was highly dependent on the production of its rural areas (Holanda, 1956). Thus, when there were declines in agricultural production or the returns on production were low, as happened with the sugar that was largely harvested in the Northeast (Skidmore, 1999), the city was affected. Over time, Salvador's importance waned in comparison to that of Rio de Janeiro, which is why the capital eventually moved from Salvador to Rio in 1763. Rio was closer to the mining areas and also had a port by which to ship the materials.

Salvador maintained its slave economy during most of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, with wealth and land concentrated in the hands of an elite few. When slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, there was no plan for transition of slaves into citizens. Slaves in Brazil were suddenly made free without any resources to be independent and productive (Engerman, 2001). Moreover, in anticipation of the end of slavery, immigrants from Europe were recruited and began coming to Brazil to take the place of slaves working in agriculture (Holloway, 1977). The immigrants primarily went to southern Brazil where people expected the immigrants to "bring the qualities the Northeasterners lacked" (Skidmore, 2001, p. 73). (There was a prejudice in Brazil towards people of the Northeast that persists today.) Thus, Salvador was left to absorb the large quantities of newly freed slaves into the fabric of the city.

There was a great divide between the haves and the have-nots in Brazil, which quickly became noticeable in the patterns of land settlement in Salvador (McCallum, 2005). The wealthy began to construct luxurious, new homes outside of the city center, stretching more towards the Atlantic coast and the east side of the city. The historic center was left for the masses, which were also occupying places along the bay and the west side of the city. The historic center in particular became known for its crowded tenement housing inside its colonial buildings.

One year after abolishing slavery, Brazil also became a Republic, which brought a new set of issues. The concentration of wealth and power in such a few hands led to problems particularly regarding citizenship in the newly formed Republic. After struggling through several decades of continuously exclusionary practices, Getulio Vargas was elected after campaigning on a populist platform. Trying to deal with a society with a predilection for informality, including in labor practices (Holanda, 1956) and a preference for European immigrants to the exclusion of the often darker-skinned Brazilians, Vargas signed into law the two-thirds rule that required two-thirds of all employees for any employing entity to be Brazilian-born (Holston, 2008). This was done in the hopes of serving two purposes: decreasing the unemployment rate of Brazilians and giving the Brazilians a president that finally acknowledged the masses as citizens and gave them rights as such. This was an important step towards providing more social equality, yet it was still problematic, particularly in areas like Salvador where the level of labor informality was high.

In linking citizenship to formal employment, Vargas' law left no room for the informally employed or unemployed to realize their citizen status (Holston, 2008). Thus, even as Vargas signed into law certain labor policies to protect workers' rights, it was only those whose employers provided formal employment to them who could demand their rights. Further, despite creating laws, without the bureaucratic infrastructure to support bringing claims of law violations to justice, there was no real way for people to demand their rights (Holston, 2008). The vast majority of Brazilians did not have the resources to navigate the bureaucratic system, and even if they did, and tried to demand their rights, they did so at great risk of losing their jobs altogether (Holston, 2008). Thus, there was still an enormous social divide, not only economically but in terms of who had rights as citizens.

Coupled with this period of Vargas' rule over Brazil, great concern was put on Brazil's modernization. Like many countries in Latin America, Brazil was seen as needing to catch-up and modernize, and import substitution industrialization, was the development technique en vogue during the 1930s. Implementing an import substitution industrialization policy was premised on the idea that developing countries were not manufacturing any of their own goods. Rather, they were exporting their raw materials to industrialized countries that manufactured the materials into products. Developing countries were then importing those products at much higher costs than if they had produced the goods themselves. This was keeping them from developing and from modernizing. Thus, instead of importing, there needed to be state intervention and inducement of industrialization. Industrialization in Brazil was centralized in its cities. This provoked a massive urbanization in Brazil. While many people from Brazil's Northeast (the states of Bahia, Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte and Paraíba) migrated south to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, a significant number of people also migrated to the city of Salvador. In Salvador the residents tended to establish themselves in the slums on the outskirts of the city (Holston, 2008; McCallum, 2005). Migration from the interior of the Northeast to Salvador continued throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, causing the city to grow continuously.

During the 1980s, Brazil went through an economic crisis like much of the countries in the Latin American region. This crisis occurred as the Global North was turning away from developmental projects and towards globalization projects (McMichael, 1996). Rather than advocate state-induced economic policies, a new idea was gaining hold: neoliberal economics. Latin American countries facing astronomical debts to Northern countries and international organizations would receive assistance from the World Bank and the IMF as long as they

adopted their policies to liberalize their markets: eliminating trade barriers and tariffs and privatizing industries. Such global policies were being implemented all over the world and were coupled with increased financialization (Harvey, 1990). These new economic policies are said to contribute to the time-space compression that characterizes the period of globalization, and the result is increased connectivity as foreign direct investment in Brazil, became possible in a way it was not before.

Today, Salvador is a city with extreme wealth inequality. The city is divided between the upper (wealthy) part of the city and the lower (poor) part of the city. Those in the city center also tend to have more wealth than those on the periphery. In addition, the city is geographically marked with wealth concentrated along the oceanic coastline, no matter how far away from the center. According to Williams, a study conducted in 2010 and released on the R7 news source revealed that at 12%, Salvador had the highest unemployment rate of any city in Brazil (2014). Meanwhile, the national average was at 7% (Williams 2014). Salvador also experiences severe gaps in income and the human development index. A resident in the richest neighborhood makes twenty-five times what a resident in Salvador's poorest neighborhood makes (Williams 2014). The HDI of a wealthy neighborhood, Cidade Jardim, is .959 (11th in Brazil), while a poor neighborhood, Nova Constituinte, is .578 (10,996 in Brazil out of 11,122) (Atlas de Desenvolvimento Humano no Brasil).

Beginning in the 1980s, Salvador's historic center was remodeled, a process that included evicting the multitude of low-income residents living in the neighborhood. The area was transformed mainly into shops, restaurants and hotels. The low-income residents who had been living there were moved to the outskirts of the city. Transportation infrastructure is wanting as peripheral and poor areas have limited access to the city center. A metro project in the works for

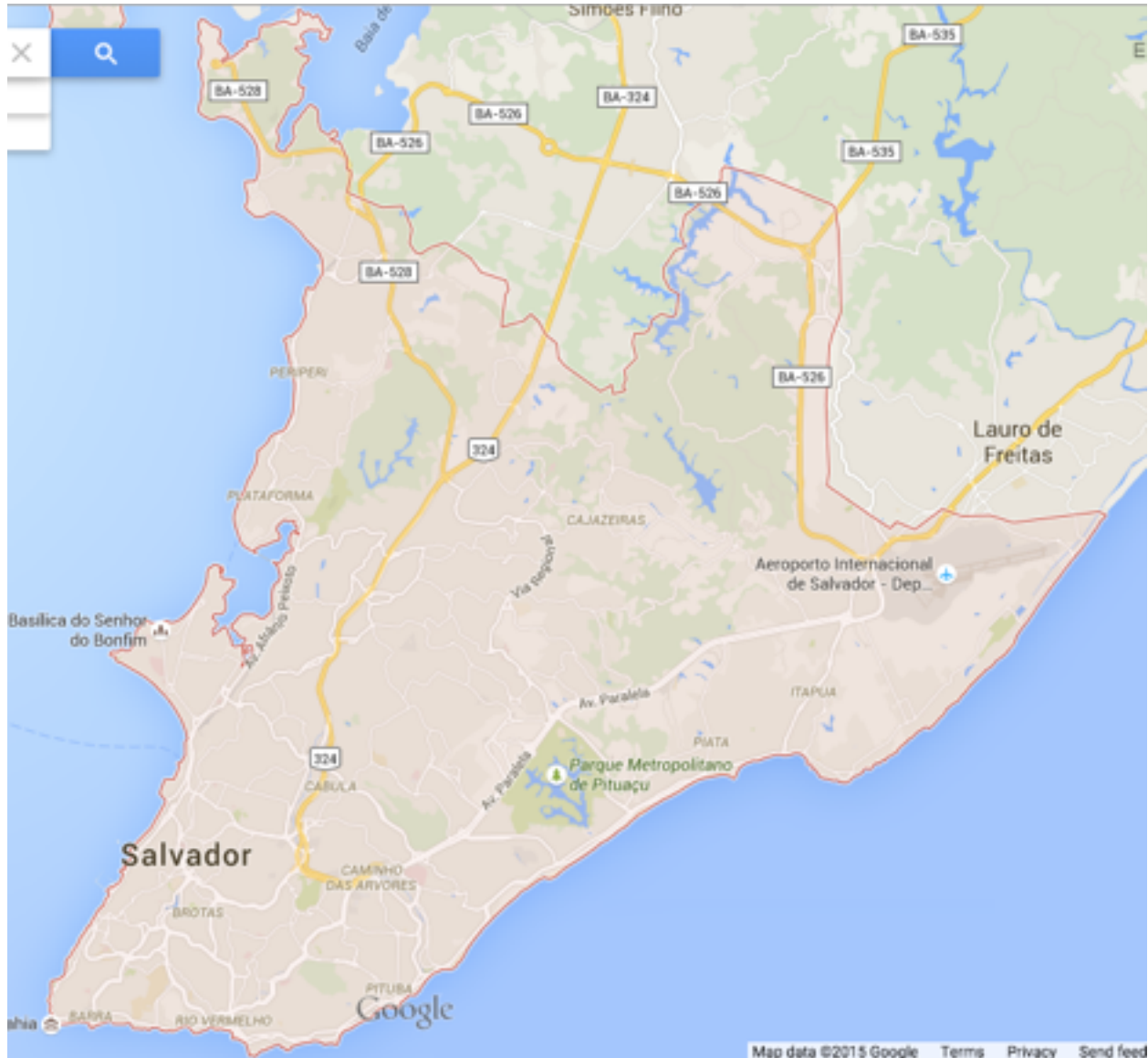
the past ten years is still far from completed. Buses are run by private companies and operate infrequently. Moreover the \$2.80R (US\$1.40) cost is prohibitively expensive for many residents on a regular basis.

Despite the poverty and inequality in Salvador it is leading the country in tourism development (Williams 2014). Salvador is the 3rd most visited city in Brazil after Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. Beginning around the 1930s, Salvador's municipal government managed its tourism (Williams 2014). In the 1950s, Salvador became the first Brazilian city to develop a Tourism Plan (Williams 2014). Under the military government in the 1960s and 1970s, tourism started to be seen as a viable economic sector so increasing attention was placed on the industry. That included the formation of the state tourism agency, Bahiatursa. After the return to democracy in the mid-1980s, Bahiatursa actively sought to put Bahia on the map as a tourist destination by participating in international tourism fairs (Williams 2014). Bahia was marketed as the *Terra de Felicidade* (Land of Happiness) in its 1990s tourism campaign (Williams 2014). It continues to be marketed as a happy and hospitable destination.

Because of its recognition as the cradle of Afro-Brazilian culture, it attracts many tourists seeking to learn about and experience its unique cultural heritage. This includes Afro-descendants from around the world as well as scholars and interested tourists (Pinho 2010). There is no doubt that Salvador's history, culture and geography in the Bay of All Saints contribute to its popularity among tourists.

Since Portuguese arrival, Brazil has always been integrated into the global circuit of trade. Salvador in particular was crucial to the triangle trade of slaves and goods among Africa, Europe and the New World. Foreigners went to Salvador temporarily to engage in trade and permanently either because of force (slaves) or to look for new opportunities. Salvador today is

a hybrid of all these different influences.



**Figure 1.** Map of Salvador. Source: Google Maps  
<https://www.google.com/maps/place/Salvador,+State+of+Bahia,+Brazil/@-12.9023537,-38.4526042,12z/data=!4m2!3m1!1s0x716037ca23ca5b3:0x1b9fc7912c226698>

## 2.2 Globalization

Given the global dynamic of tourism and the trends I am evaluating, my project is aided by a consideration of globalization literature as well as looking at globalization in relationship to tourism and to Salvador. Globalization is a contested topic and one whose definition cannot be

taken for granted. Some people dispute that such a thing exists, others challenge that it is making much to do over a process in existence for a long time. Still others want to use it as a catch-all term so as to avoid detailing the variety of factors that one has to take into account in studying social phenomena (Hołowiecka, Grzelak-Kostulska, & Kwiatkowski, 2011). Thus in order to discuss globalization at all, I think it is important to establish how I use it and in what way it informs my project.

### **2.2.1 Globalization Theory**

First, globalization is not merely referring to the fact that the world is interconnected. It is undeniable that the world has been connected in a multitude of ways throughout time. Nor does it refer solely to the transformation of culture by outside influence (Mendieta, 2007) as that has also been happening since the beginning of time and numerous scholars have eloquently articulated such processes long before the idea of globalization came up (Freyre, 1933; Ortiz, 1940). Rather, globalization refers to the process of heightened contact among people, among people and ideas, among people and objects, and among people and places across the globe, which has been facilitated by increased financialization and advances in technology since the 1970s. David Harvey points specifically to the break down of the Bretton Woods Agreement to trigger the new economic period that he calls “flexible accumulation” in contrast to Fordism (1990). Other scholars do not find that there has been such a fine break in economic practices (Ferguson, 2002). Phillip McMichael contrasts the economic shifts as being between projects of development, in which each state played a key role in its nations’ economy, to projects of globalization, in which global financiers, international and national bureaucrats and corporate leaders are at the helm of the economy (1994). For McMichael this shift occurred during the Mexican Peso Crisis of 1982 when the state-supported economy collapsed and neoliberal

policies including privatization ensued. Harvey (1990) and McMichael (1994) essentially outline the end of two processes, Fordism and Keynesianism, that mark the shift to late capitalism or neoliberal capitalism. Ortner (2011) suggests that this shift to neoliberal capitalism overlaps with processes of globalization.

Establishing this time frame refers to when the financialization started, not necessarily when the process of globalization started. As with any process, there is continuity with what came before. Bracketing of this time period is helpful to illustrate tangible shifts in economic policy. It also allows for distinguishing between the current process and other periods of similar increased contact due to financialization and technology like during the Dutch and British empires (Calhoun and Derluigan, 2011). Although some may conclude that because increased contact of this kind has happened before, the contemporary process is unimportant. However, to do so would be to miss the nuances of this period and the opportunity to take advantage of new conceptual tools for understanding society (Mendieta, 2007).

The conceptual value of globalization is also worth mentioning. Bracketing off this period of time as being a unique period of increased contact serves as a way of seeing the world. It is a way to come to terms with the time-space compression and an attempt to come up with new schemata for what is emerging. There are other terms that refer to the time period in which globalization exists: post-modern and neoliberal (Isin, 2000, Ortner, 2011). When put with globalization these terms reflect a period characterized by increased mobility, fragmentation, plurality, and commodification of things that were previously de- or uncommodified (Beeton, 2006; Clarke, 2004). Because these things overlap, globalization refers to these processes too. The study of globalization, then, tries to understand how these processes come together and what their effects are.



Scholars have used a number of metaphors to discuss the process of globalization that inform my own understanding. One way is through the idea of flows. The idea of flows depicts the movement and connections that exist. Castells refers to society as comprised of flows and networks (1996, 1989). He distinguishes the space of flows from the space of place, a more bounded, static category. The social meaning of place is being diffused, thus giving more power to spaces of flows. The networks or nodes are the different actors and institutions in society that are the points of reception and exchange of flows (ideas, people, capital). Urry also depicts fluidity through his metaphor of blood (2000b). Globalization, like blood, assumes an unexpected spatial pattern unconfined by definite structures. Appadarai's flows are irregular with his metaphor of scapes, which are both overlapping and disconnected (1996).

Disconnections, stoppages and boundaries are also important considerations in theorizing about globalization. Globalization is not only about the elimination of borders; for, where borders are erased, new ones are constructed (Pieterse, 2002; Kearney, 1998). Lugo uses the geopolitical border-crossing to stand for cultural border-crossers (based on class, race, gender, etc.) and to suggest that just because people cross successfully does not necessarily mean that there was no border to cross (2000). The fact that so many people still do not make it across, suggests that borders still exist.

Between stoppages and flows, we also have irregular and uneven movement as Appadarai points to (1996). Seigel says that globalization leads to lumpy encounters because they are not even or equal (2009). Power dictates the way the encounters are experienced and whether they occur at all. Those in power often have less reason to encounter those that are not. Tsing uses a metaphor of friction to illustrate how the encounter is not always a smooth one and the outcome is not always certain or homogenous (2005). Global processes end up looking like

something of a patchwork. Mendieta also alludes to the unevenness of globalization through the title of his book, *Global Fragments*, which refers to the fact that global theory cannot be more than a fragment of the entire process and also that globalization affects places and people to different degrees (2007).

Globalization also leads to the creation of new things. Sassen introduces the idea of frontier zones both geographical and metaphorical that are spaces of active interaction and passive overlap (2000). In these spaces new combinations emerge, suggesting that there are both spatial and temporal elements of globalization. In Tsing's idea of friction there is also an element of the creation of something new (2005). She uses the metaphor of how one stick alone is very different from rubbing two sticks together and producing fire.

These metaphors for globalization point to the fact that to understand globalization requires looking at movement, the lack of movement, and fluctuations in movement. It requires looking at patterns of homogeneity and heterogeneity. It requires looking at how things stay the same, how things change, and how things do a combination of both. The study of globalization considers differences in power--not only power according to financial capital, but also social, cultural, and technological capital. Looking at these things through a lens of tourism is interesting because through the broad strokes of theory, there is a tendency to position tourists as the movers and the locals as non-movers, or tourists as global and locals as provincial. But by doing a case study of tourism there is potential to reveal a much more nuanced depiction of the situation, which can contribute to a broader understanding of the stoppages and flows, the unevenness, and the novelties that emerge in globalization.

### **2.2.2 Globalization and Cities**

Because I am looking specifically at the city of Salvador, it is worth thinking about the

experience of globalization in an urban setting.. One of the pioneering scholars on globalization and cities is Saskia Sassen who views the “city as the litmus test” of globalization (Mendieta, 2007). What happens in the city will determine how globalization takes shape elsewhere. Sassen also challenges some common thoughts regarding globalization. The first is regarding the diminished role of the nation state. Numerous scholars suggest that the role of the state is shrinking or becoming less-central because of globalization (Scarpaci, 2005; Clarke, 2004; Fraser, 2003, Lui, 2004). For example, Fraser argues that while governing processes were previously nationally bounded, they are now being denationalized and transnationalized, suggesting a decentralized role of the state. Scarpaci suggests that globalization is a process that leads to government becoming less important in the daily lives of citizens (2005). While Sassen acknowledges a changed role for the state, she does not consider it to be a lesser role. In fact, the state is becoming synonymous with global cities (1995). Sassen’s idea of what comprises a global city is based primarily on which cities are centers of financial power. She distinguishes between the global city and the world city, which has historical importance and is relevant to humanity (2005). Given her definition, Salvador, which has a history of world importance but is not a primary financial center, would be a world but not global city. However, Sassen also refutes another common argument in globalization theory about how place is losing its importance to space (Castells, 1996). Sassen argues that place is important and that specific places should be looked at to understand processes of economic globalization (2005). Thus, Sassen highlights the importance of cities, all large cities, in being manifestations of global processes, and Salvador would be considered one of those productive urban spaces (2005).

Manifestations of global processes in cities are numerous. First of all, urbanization is a trend of globalization. More and more people are moving to the cities. By 2030, the United

Nations projects that 60% of the world's population will be living in cities (Mendieta, 2007, p 45). The vast majority of those people will be living in cities in the global south, which tend to be those that are facing shortages of resources already (Mendieta, 2007, p. 38). Salvador has seen massive urbanization since 1970, going from a population of 568,000 in 1970 to slightly over 3,000,000 in 2010, with even more in the metropolitan area (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2010). Another trend is the disparity of wealth within cities (Stoller, 1997), which was documented in terms of Salvador in the previous section. The gap between the rich and poor is expanding with globalization, and the number of poor is far greater than the wealthy. Neoliberal policies dictated by global organizations such as the IMF and World Bank often have a devastating effect on the poorest of the poor while benefiting the wealthy and occasionally people in the middle (Goldman, 2005). These supra-national organizations contribute to the global force that exacerbates inequality (Tusia, 2012). A visible sign of the disparity comes in the form of dwellings. Globalization has seen a massive increase in the number of slums and makeshift dwellings throughout the world (Frenzel, et al., 2012; Davis, 2006; Cejas, 2006). Such urban sprawl is definitely evident in Salvador, as the city gets increasingly bigger.

With the economic disparity and poverty, global cities are also sites of increasing informalization (Sassen, 2005; Stoller, 1997). Sassen writes that the informalization is opening up more possibilities for women to earn a living and become the principal breadwinner in a household, another trend of globalization (2005). Stoller (1997) reports on scenes of West African immigrants in New York City selling knock-off products that are very similar to the hordes of people who have set-up stands along entire avenues in Salvador to sell a vast assortment of goods, not least of which are pirated versions of the internationally popular

Hawaiana flip-flop sandals.

Downtowns are also changing because of globalization. While informal spaces are established in many areas of the city, increasingly downtowns are pushing people engaged in informal activities out. The downtowns are spaces for formal consumption either through shopping or cultural experience. They are increasingly becoming sites of consumption (Peterson & McDonogh, 2012) for residents and global elites to enjoy. In order to make room for the elites, people are being pushed out of spaces, as occurred in Salvador's historic center throughout the 1980s and '90s as a part of an urban makeover project mentioned in the previous section (Collins, 2008; Riggs, 2008). The working class that had occupied the colonial buildings of the historic center for over a century no longer fit into the image that city officials wanted to project in that neighborhood (Riggs, 2008). The process of removing the residents was unequal, corrupt and in many cases did not result in dignified treatment of the residents (Collins, 2008). Moreover the public space in the historic center is adhering to more strict notions of who belongs and who does not (Williams 2014).

As people are getting pushed out and excluded from city spaces, it reasserts the "right to the city" issue that Lefebvre wrote about in the 1960s (Goonewardena, Kipfer, Milgrom, & Schmid, 2008). Holston argues that cities are increasingly the places where Brazilians are demanding their rights as citizens. They are doing so as city residents not as Brazilians. Being a citizen or being a national of a country is not equivalent to having rights (2001). Brazilians are engaging in a variety of social movements to demand their rights in terms of health services, schools, and child care (2001, p 338) and more recently in regards to transportation during the 2013 protests. This situation provides a good example of Lefebvre's concept of space as both producing social processes and being produced by social processes (1996). In this case, the city

produces processes like demonstrations or strikes, and is produced by the processes by becoming a place that offers more recreational areas or is more inclusive. Despite using the cities to demand rights, residents increasingly have to contend with global economic forces that influence the production and construction of space in cities (Low, 2000, p 180).

Given the propensity for diverse people to convene on urban centers, global cities are seen as heterotopias that juxtapose several different spaces in one. This leads to having to carve out or claim one's space (Little, 2004). Brazil and Salvador have already had a long history with the issue of social exclusion (Holston, 2008), and globalization potentially exacerbates the problem as will be detailed in the next section. Isin discusses how increasingly the right to the city is being claimed by those who have access to flows, which is not necessarily the citizens or residents of a given place (2000).

Aiwha Ong outlines how the process of social exclusion occurs in globalization through her concept of graduated sovereignty (2008, 2006). Graduated sovereignty is a neoliberal strategy for governing and organizing the state that differentiates people primarily based on their potential to contribute to the capitalist market (which often comes down to race or nationality). Differences are manifested in the privileges people are afforded and the techniques used to discipline people. Those who contribute more to the market are afforded more privileges and are allowed to self-govern, while those who contribute less receive fewer privileges and are governed through repressive means (2006). Through the process of globalization where people are moving around more, taking jobs in different countries, people from certain nationalities get coded as exemplar and therefore are granted privileges and allowed to self-govern, while people from other nationalities and the nationals who are coded as low-contributors to the market, are treated in an inferior way (Ong, 2008).

In Salvador, city officials have embraced a discourse of needing to make the city more international. In particular there is a focus on becoming more bi- and multi-lingual. Efforts to do this include offering online language lessons to cab drivers and encouraging businesses to do whatever is necessary including taking out loans to be able to provide information to visitors in multiple languages. Throughout Brazil, public education is of low quality and in the Northeast, the poorest region of the country, it is the worst. Trying to teach second languages to people who were never given the tools to learn their first language well is a defeatist strategy. Language issues in Salvador caused fear among tourism professionals and academics regarding the potential for bringing in employees from Europe who speak Spanish and English to staff hotels and work during the 2014 World Cup. While this was never reported on and thus substantiated, having done so would reflect the situations described by Ong and Isin, in which the state's desires to be global, combined with a presence of exemplar non-nationals, results in a de-privileging of certain citizens, while rights are granted to non-citizens.

### **2.2.3 Globalization and Urban Tourism**

Since cities are spaces that are deeply affected by globalization and see many manifestations of global processes. Tourism, as both an agent and expression of globalization, then also has an impact on cities. In each of the processes outlined above, tourism brings its own considerations. Regarding urbanization, tourists are also going to cities. Beyond the fact that cities have always drawn tourists because they are populous and often have the most accessible and affordable transportation infrastructure (Hayllar, Griffin & Edwards 2008; Law 2002), globalization is affecting these numbers further. With such a large percentage of the population, not to mention jobs and universities located in cities, the urban has become a commodity, (Kipfer, Schmid, Goonewardena, & Milgrom, 2008). It is suspected that an increasing number

of tourists are going to cities, but this is hard to count because traditional methods for tallying tourists through hotel statistics, have no way to account for all of the new accommodation options tourists are pursuing (Maitland & Newman, 2009). Tourists who travel to cities often do so in conjunction with their jobs, studies and service pursuits, or to visit family and friends. They are staying in corporate or student housing or in private homes and facilities. This means that hotel statistics are not going to capture this important demographic of city tourists.

Blurring boundaries between work and play mean that tourism can no longer be assumed to be synonymous with leisure, and even less-so in cities (Maitland & Newman, 2009). The tourists to cities are often experienced city users and they take to the city immediately, exploring as much as they can and attempting to fit in (Maitland & Newman, 2009). The depiction of tourists as passive and oblivious no longer holds, as tourists anticipate and navigate the challenges of urban life (Maitland & Newman, 2009). These tourists also look for things that are “off-the-beaten-track” and have the potential to discover new ways that the city can attract tourists (Maitland & Newman, 2009).

Some of the things that tourists anticipate and perhaps look to encounter in cities is poverty, another outcome of globalization. What started as an off-the-beaten-track excursion (Frenzel, 2012), is now a conventional activity (Tusia, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2012; Cejas, 2006). Editors of the book *Slum Tourism* estimate that in 2011, in Rio de Janeiro alone, 50,000 tourists participated in organized tours of favelas (the local name for what is more broadly considered a slum) (Frenzel et al., 2012). Globalization is seen as prompting the urbanization and disparity that is evident in cities and on display in the slums. It also prompts tourists’ interest in urban life, including the poverty that exists there. Tusia reports on how certain tourists feel compelled to see all parts of Rio de Janeiro, including the favelas, because cities are not just the beautiful



sights (Tusia, 2012). Beyond this, poverty tours are also emerging out of the synergy between neoliberalism's tendency to commodify everything, including people and poverty, and globalization's putting people into contact with other people and places (Cejas, 2006).

Poverty and neoliberalism lead to increased informalization (Millar, 2008), on which tourism also has an impact. Informal marketplaces are popular tourist attractions and often tourists are ignorant of the implication of informality within the local context (Stoller, 1997). Other examples of tourists' role in the informal economy is through drug consumption and prostitution. The normalization of cannabis use in Western societies has led tourists to consume drugs while traveling either as an extension of their regular activities at home or in order to try something that is relatively common in a place where they feel less constrained (Belhassen, Santos, & Uriely, 2007). Tourists also report on the ease of purchasing drugs as a motivating factor in the consumption of drugs while traveling. In the Global South countries of Latin America, poverty and lack of opportunity lead hundreds of thousands of people, many of them children, to turn to illegal drug trafficking (de Souza e Silva & Urani, 2002; Rios, 2008). Selling to tourists is one component of the industry.

Sex tourism is a booming industry all over the world. For many people, especially in the Global South, selling one's body gets a much better return than formal jobs (Roland, 2011; Cabezas, 2009), and in some cases is the only option available. In addition it comes with perks: gifts, a better lifestyle and the potential for long-term stability by marrying a tourist and accompanying him/her to a new environment (Roland, 2011). Of course, it also has many risks, which further contribute to the inequality and vulnerability of some populations.

The changing nature of downtowns and public space also has a relationship to tourism. In looking at how plazas are used in San José, Costa Rica, Setha Low is able to see how public

places are modified because of and for tourists (1999). Sarlo discusses how malls are important spaces to provide tourists with a sense of home and that without them, mass tourism would not exist (2001). In discussing the influx of tourists to cities, Maitland and Newman talk about how these tourists are a part of the “global gentrifying class” (2009, p. 17-18). Tourists value certain neighborhoods over others, and those neighborhoods start to get transformed according to their heightened value while others are transformed due to their lack of value. In having the power to transform space, tourists fit into Ong’s theory that there are exemplar non-nationals who have privileges far beyond certain nationals who are sometimes forced to move from their homes to create a space that appeals to the non-national tourists. Thus, tourists’ impact on cities is not to be underestimated as it can affect geography, planning, residents’ access and feelings of belonging.

#### **2.2.4 Tourism and Global Theory**

As mentioned, because Salvador is a city affected by the global processes of urbanization, disparity in wealth, informalization, spatial restructuring, and changes in degrees of citizenship. Because international tourism brings a particular dynamic to each of these processes, tourism, then, is an appropriate lens by which one can evaluate the impact of globalization on Salvador. This is possible because tourism articulates the global character of Salvador. Unlike other cities that may be more globally connected through finance, politics, or material production, Salvador is primarily connected by the people who visit. That means the following: first, it helps to move conversations about global cities past economics in favor of incorporating discussions about people and ideas as well. Given the tendency to consider economics as the only factor in determining a city’s global character (Sassen, 2005; Maitland & Newman, 2009), it is important to emphasize that global forces are impacting society in ways that extend far beyond the

economy. Looking at tourism in relationship to global processes in Salvador will help to display the city's global character and demonstrate how people and ideas make a place global, and the unevenness with which they, as well as capital, penetrate into the societies is important to understand. Second, because tourism is such a strong reminder of globality in Salvador, it allows tourism to stand out as a tool for analysis in ways that would not be possible in other cities like London or New York where globality is more noticeable for other reasons. In those cases, tourism is still an important factor and should be considered as such, but probably would not be studied as closely in relationship to globalization. Therefore, using tourism as a lens in a place like Salvador, where that is an obvious factor in globalization may provide insights into how tourism and globalization interact in other places as well.

Using tourism as a lens to study globalization in general, outside the context of Salvador, is also worthwhile because it allows for a dual-level analysis of globalization. A lot of globalization studies study the process of globalization or they study the effects of globalization, and if they study both, they are two distinct entities. To study tourism is to study both the process and the effects, and sometimes in the same entity. Tourism contributes to the processes of globalization and tourists also experience globalization. They experience it, for example, when they come face-to-face with extreme inequality or poverty, or when they encounter the spatial arrangements of a city. Since part of my study is looking at the tourists, I see how tourists are experiencing the process that they are contributing to. Given that globalization is processual and uneven; temporal and spatial, tourism is useful in that it can capture those things and ground them in a recognizable terrain.

### **2.3 Social Inclusion/Exclusion**

As indicated in the introduction and the previous section, globalization and global tourism

are producing new arrangements of social inclusion and exclusion. Specifically I am interested in the different claims to inclusion that are produced by the touristscape. In the present study, I focus on two groups who are claiming their right to inclusion in the destination society: low-income residents and global citizen tourists. The residents of the destination see tourism as a vehicle to gain greater access to social resources including financial opportunities, cultural legitimization and infrastructural support. In Salvador, these residents are those living in low-income communities in the more peripheral areas of the city, engaging in community tourism. These communities are often cut off from the city due to poor transportation, lack of employment opportunities, and an overall dismissal because of the different problems they face with drugs and violence. As the Brazilian ministry of tourism has stated in its National Tourism Plans over the past decade, one of the goals of tourism is to bring about social inclusion. Thus, these people are justified in their expectation for using tourism as a means to achieve social inclusion.

The second group seeking social inclusion is the cosmopolitan tourists. These tourists are using their travels to gain status as global citizens. One of the criteria for claiming global citizen status, as the next section will detail, is cross-cultural competence. There is no better way to demonstrate competence than to be included in the host society. In Salvador, the cosmopolitan tourists live with local families, learn Portuguese, volunteer and apprentice with local NGOs and immerse themselves in the local milieu. A global citizen has rights and responsibilities, and by getting involved in the local community, they perceive they are taking on their responsibilities. The same way that citizens of a country have a claim to inclusion, global citizens expect to be included as one of their rights.

While the claims to inclusion and what it looks like to be included are different for the two groups, there is commonality in that they both are seeking a level of inclusion. In order to

understand what inclusion entails for both groups, it is necessary to first establish what social inclusion is by identifying the origins and multiple definitions of the term in the social sciences. Then, given the particular framing of this study, it is helpful to see how social inclusion is understood in the context of globalization, Brazil and tourism. Ultimately, this literature review shows that by and large, the use of the term social inclusion has been limited to talking about materially-disadvantaged people and that there are limitations in the way social inclusion/exclusion has been applied to the context of globalization. This opens the door to a multi-scalar study that takes a broad perspective on social inclusion in light of the travelscapes evident as part of globalization. For that reason, I close this section by discussing why social inclusion can be applied in a broader context, specifically the context I will explore regarding the global citizen tourists' quests for social inclusion.

### **2.3.1 Social Inclusion/Exclusion Origins and definition**

The concept of social inclusion/exclusion can be traced back to some of the original social science theorists, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. Both of these intellectuals, in making sense of the social world, considered the way people belonged or did not in certain social groups. Durkheim's theory of social integration tries to make sense of how people cohere in society, taking into account the differences between traditional and modern societies (Farganis, 2011). In traditional societies, people play similar social roles and are bound together by their similarities, a form of social organization that Durkheim refers to as mechanical solidarity. In modern societies that are characterized by a division of labor where each person specializes in something, the people are bound together by their interdependence. Durkheim refers to this social organization as organic solidarity. These are the ways that people are integrated in society, but there are times when the social bonds rupture, which can be thought of as exclusion.

Durkheim considered these ruptures as having an influence on suicide rates. In particular, he thought that egoistic suicide was an effect of the degree of disintegration or exclusion from particular parts of society.

Weber presents exclusion through his discussion on status stratification. He writes that status is always based on some degree of exclusion, and that “material monopolies provide the most effective motives for the exclusiveness of a status group” (Farganis 2011 p 98). Thus, Weber’s ideas establish the importance of access to material goods as the basis of exclusion. However, he also stresses the importance of status in the process of exclusion.

Frank Parkin furthers Weber’s ideas on exclusion by articulating his theory of social closure in his book *Marxism and Class Theory*. Basing his ideas off of Weber, Parkin posits that social closure is a way for certain groups to obtain a dominant and privileged position in relation to others by restricting others’ access to resources and opportunities. (Burchardt, Le Grand, Piachaud 2002; Parkin 1979). This exclusion can be both intentional and unintentional, but results in the creation of a subordinate class (Parkin, 1979). To counter this exclusion, the subordinate class engages in usurpation to regain some power in a system where they have fewer privileges (Parkin 1979). Usurpation draws on standards of distributive justice to compensate for the resources and opportunities from which they have been excluded (Parkin 1979). In both forms of closure: exclusion and usurpation, power is the key. In the former, it is “the use of power in a downward direction” while the latter is “the use of power in an upward direction” (Parkin 1979 p. 74). Parkin, basing his ideas on Weber, articulates that the two exclusionary practices of the bourgeoisie include the institution of private property and through the system of “academic or professional qualifications and credentials.” (Parkin, 1979 p 48). Thus, like Weber, he emphasizes the importance of access to material goods in the process of exclusion, but

he also more clearly describes how status through education and professional opportunity are a part of exclusion.

Talcott Parsons wrote extensively about many topics in sociology, but issues of inclusion and membership in society was a common thread throughout (Sciortino 2010). Parsons saw citizenship as connected to social integration (Sciortino 2010). His idea of social integration differed from that of Durkheim in that he believed that both mechanical and organic organizations occurred simultaneously in any given society. Mechanical solidarity, then, to Parsons, is about the coordination between units that are seen as equal, and organic is the coordination among differentiated units. In this way, citizenship would be seen as mechanical solidarity in that all citizens have equal status within that institution (Sciortino). Although citizenship is not the only form of social membership, it is a key one. Parsons discusses the evolutionary process of citizenship as establishing first rights for citizens and then social responsibilities (244). Parsons emphasized the importance of social rights as key to the process of inclusion, but did not limit who did had access to social rights based on class issues alone. Rather he considered religious, racial and ethnic diversity, and with this considers immigrant populations and transnational connections, as also being factors in access to citizenship's social rights. For those who are legally citizens, but are not included, they are considered second-class citizens. According to Sciortino, "Parsons is very careful in distinguishing inclusion from *assimilation*: the former implies a process of symbolic generalization of the criteria for membership that allows for both the new members *and* their activities and values to synchronize with the common value system. To be included, the normative system must undergo a process deep enough to define the social markers of the included group as positive for, or at least indifferent to, the common good" (2010, p 250). In this way, Sciortino is suggesting that for

Parsons, inclusion is a sort of meeting in the middle between the person/people seeking inclusion and the group that is doing the including. Parsons saw inclusion as always expanding rather than contracting. However, Sciortino points out that in a global system we see an increase in inclusion and exclusion that Parsons did not accommodate for. Thus, Parsons, while establishing a base for which we can understand the realities of inclusion in a global system through his analysis of citizenship and belonging, did not account for it himself.

More recent academic theorizing about social exclusion/inclusion has been influenced by the popularity of the term in the professional and political realms starting around the 1970s (Levitas 2000, Burchardt 2000, Allman 2013, Oakley 2004). The term was used in France to refer to those who slipped through the cracks of the social insurance system, “Les exclus”; those we were not accounted for on an administrative level (Burchardt, Le Grand, Piachaud 2002, Burchardt 2000). Thus, there was a connection between social exclusion and the responsibilities the state assumes towards individuals. The term then was used to refer to people with disabilities and deviant groups (Silver 2006). The term further evolved to capture issues related to unemployment and homelessness (Burchardt, Le Grand, Piachaud 2002, Silver 2006). Oakley posits that social exclusion contains “material, spiritual and symbolic aspects” because it is a rupture of the social and symbolic bonds that attach individuals to society (Oakley 2004 p 95).

Although the French popularized the term, it came into vogue elsewhere. In the UK, the term social exclusion essentially became the politically correct way to refer to poverty (Burchardt, Le Grand, Piachaud 2002). The EU adopted the term in official policies in the 1990s (Silver 2006). Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud (2002) write that although the term social exclusion is not as common in North America, terms like “ghettoization, marginalization, and the underclass” are all getting at the same ideas (p 2). Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud also



discuss how the United Nations has been instrumental in establishing social exclusion as a term to refer to development and in this way the concept has come to refer to exclusion from a wide variety of social and civil rights: health care, basic education and material well-being (2002, p 3). This rights-based approach has become popular in many developing countries (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud 2002). Thus, in the professional and political realms, social exclusion has stood in for poverty while also coming to refer to a more complex condition than just absence of material and financial wealth.

Amartya Sen, a leading scholar on issues of poverty, also calls for adoption of the term social exclusion rather than using poverty to reflect the complexity of human deprivation (Munck 2005). For Sen, social exclusion emphasizes the relational processes rather than an individual's status (Munck 2005). Scholars have grappled with how best to use and define the concept. Levitas outlines three approaches to social exclusion all of which are aimed at addressing poverty through redistribution, labor force integration, and the moral and cultural causes of poverty (Levitas 2000). Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch identify seven general categories which can be used to measure social inclusion/exclusion: "measure of poverty; access to quality social services (health, education, and housing) and productive resources (land, capital, technology); access to physical infrastructure (water, sanitation, and transport); access to and participation in labor markets, social participation and social capital indicators, justice and political participation indicators, violence and victimization indicators" (2004, p 7). In this understanding, Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch again show the centrality of poverty, but also suggest that exclusion goes beyond material/financial wealth to an overall quality of life.

Silver says that although social exclusion is most frequently used in relationship to poverty, it is not merely an issue of insufficient material resources (2006). She emphasizes that exclusion

is not all or nothing, that people are excluded in some aspects of social relations but not all (2006). For that reason, it can best be conceived of as a continuum. Most recently, social exclusion has been a salient topic in immigration as efforts have been made to grant immigrants the same rights and responsibilities as citizens. Silver cites the “Joint Report on Social Inclusion” in suggesting that access to Internet, housing, transportation, continuing education and language acquisition are signs of inclusion.

Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud seek to explore whether social exclusion can be measured without drawing on the concepts of deprivation and poverty (2002). They define social exclusion as referring to someone who does not participate to a reasonable degree in key activities of his or her society over a period of time, and the participation is both desired by the individual and is lacking for reasons beyond his or her control (2002). They admit that the definition is purposely vague so as to leave space for the relative nature of societies and the dynamism of social exclusion. They also emphasize the agency of the excluded by saying that people are not socially excluded if they are not interested in participating or if their reason for not participating is within their control. They distinguish social exclusion from deprivation by saying that deprivation focuses on the lack of resources, while social exclusion is broader, allowing for the possibility that disadvantage occurs for other reasons like discrimination or ill health (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud 2002). The authors also say that social exclusion, as opposed to deprivation and poverty emphasizes agency and process (2000). In their study, the authors find that exclusion happens to many different degrees, and thus is not merely a singular category (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud, 2002). Like Silver, this points to the idea that social exclusion exists on a continuum.

Allman talks about how the term social inclusion/exclusion has a more widespread use in

the social sciences and emphasizes the potential for widespread use of the term. He says that it has been used to describe the social stratification of both human and animal populations so as to show social positions and explain how some have access to the core and others the periphery (2013). Allman purports that the term has not just been used to describe those marginalized because of economic circumstances (2013). He says that it has been applied to people excluded due to race, gender, age, ethnicity and disability, suggesting that the original idea of social exclusion would apply to about 50% of the world's population (2013 p 9). Citing Parker (2012, p 166), Allman emphasizes that inclusion and exclusion are shaped by the cultural formations of the society as well as its systems of power and domination. (2013).

Several scholars make the distinction between exclusion at a societal level and exclusion at an individual level. For Silver, exclusion at the societal level means that there is inadequate social cohesion or integration (2006). At the individual level she says that it refers to the "incapacity to participate in normatively expected social activities and to build meaningful social relations" (2006 p 4411). Oakley further elaborates on the individual vs. societal levels of exclusion saying that excluded individuals are "socially isolated as they are lacking ties to the family, local community and voluntary associations" (2004 p 96). On the societal level, exclusion is more a reflection of institutional arrangements within a country that reflect discrimination stores particular groups (Oakley 2004). Abrams, Hogg and Marques edit a volume in which inclusion and exclusion are discussed more broadly from a psychological perspective (2005). In their introduction, as well as in many of the chapters, inclusion is discussed as a natural social process that happens in a variety of contexts including "transnational, societal and institutional" (Abrams, et al. 2005, p 17; Levine, Moreland, Hausmann, 2005; Dovidio, Gaertner, Hodson, Houlette, and Johnson, 2005).

In considering the process of social inclusion generally, Levine, Moreland & Hausmann (2005) emphasize the centrality of both the group who has the power to include as well as the individual(s) seeking inclusion. Both sides look to have their needs satisfied by the other before inclusion will occur, and inclusion does not happen unless terms are met for both sides. This suggests that neither all the power nor all the responsibility in the process of inclusion falls on either side.

The term social exclusion has also generated academic criticism. Levitas poses that the concept's popularity presents some complications when trying to critically examine society (2000). She says that social exclusion refers to the fact that there is a group outside of mainstream society or outside of society itself (2000). It has become a popular term to use, Levitas argues, because it can obscure some of the power and privilege inherent in social divisions (2000). Often, social exclusion implies that the in-group is benign and resolving social problems is merely a matter of helping the excluded to cross that boundary into the mainstream (Levitas, 2000). This means that the only important social division is that between the included and excluded, rather than, for example, the very rich and the rest of society (Levitas, 2000). Thus, focusing on social exclusion ignores the power dynamics between the included and excluded as well as among included members. Levitas also emphasizes that social inclusion/exclusion is a concept that is used in academic, professional and political domains, where each domain's usage of the concept can influence the others (2000). For that reason, there is no consensus on precisely what it needs to refer to. Rather, the important thing is to understand the problems and processes that are addressed through the concept (Levitas, 2000).

In his review of the term, Allman also points to some of the critiques of the social inclusion/exclusion discourse. He highlights the concern scholars have that the rhetoric

“represses conflict” (p. 9). He also talks about the unattainable utopia to which the discourse of inclusion leads. Scholars have pointed to the inevitability of poverty existing within a society, so the rhetoric to include everyone in the economic sense fails (2013, p. 10). Even for those scholars who discussed universal citizenship in the 19th century, Allman argues that there was still a boundary between the includable and excludable and that it would have been enforced in the application of their theories (2013). The criticisms of Levitas and Allman contribute to how I apply the term in my study, specifically insofar as I avoid ignoring the power and privilege divisions and in acknowledging that the utopia is not a practical goal.

Theories on social inclusion/exclusion have provided us with the following understandings. First, that it is an inherent part of social life (Durkheim via Farganis 2011). Some of the major concerns about exclusion are the lack of access to material goods and to opportunities (Weber via Farganis 2011, Parkin, 1979). Exclusion/inclusion are connected to status, and excluded groups seek to rectify their lack of opportunities/material goods by using their power against the included groups (Parkin, 1979). Citizenship is one of the primary forms of social membership, but being a legal citizen does not automatically provide inclusion, which is manifested due to the absence of social rights (Parsons, 2007). Inclusion means that new members and their values merge into what already exists without having to change completely to fit into the mainstream (Parsons, 2007; Sciortino 2010). The process of inclusion requires both the person seeking inclusion as well as the including group to agree with the terms of inclusion (Levine, Moreland & Hausmann, 2005). The term can mask some of the underlying power dynamics in a society (Levitas, 2000). Exclusion happens over a period of time and only if the person being excluded wants to be included and to be included is out of his or her control (Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud, 2002). Exclusion criteria is both a measure of poverty and lack of access (Buvinic,

2004). The category of socially excluded has expanded to include people not just because of economic circumstances in some cases (Allman, 2013). Social exclusion on an individual level is different than on a societal level and exclusion is best represented as a continuum (Silver, 2006). These different understandings, although weighted towards using social inclusion to refer to economically marginalized people, are the basis for how I will use social inclusion in this study. Before, identifying how inclusion can be used in my study, I will first review literature on social inclusion specifically addressing some of the key areas of my research: globalization, Latin America, Brazil and Tourism

### **2.3.2 Social Inclusion/Exclusion in the Global Era**

For the most part, social exclusion/inclusion is a term has been used in identifying issues of poverty and deprivation within a single nation. For that reason, there is some question over whether social exclusion can be applied globally. However, some scholars are making the case for why the term has global relevance. For example, Munck posits that the term has been sufficiently extricated from its original European usage to now be used as a global term referring to the social deprivation brought on by globalization (2005). He finds that talking about social exclusion on a global level positions people in an interconnected way much like neoliberal capitalism does. In this way, it allows for addressing global inequality. Oakley says that globalization has forced nations' inclusion into a global system, while excluding many people from it (2004). In fact, as the previous discussion on globalization alludes to, social exclusion has become another way of referring to those who have been disconnected from global flows.

Schindler (2015) advances this idea in a specific context arguing that since the contraction of the global economy in 2008, some "places and people that lack a clearly defined function are disconnected from economic processes and excluded from the global economy; as a result non-

capitalist social relations of production have emerged in some of these zones of exclusion” (2015 p 56). These “zones of exclusion” previously were connected to global production but have since experienced economic hardship and “de-growth” as production has diminished (2015, p 50). In this model, the people and places that are excluded are those who were once included and have experienced a drastic change.

Jordan (1996) takes into account the context of globalization while analyzing social exclusion in terms of poverty and deprivation. He demonstrates that the global system allowed wealthy countries to generate wealth at the expense of developing countries, which has long-term consequences for poverty and thus social exclusion. The dismantling of welfare states in developing countries, particularly in Latin America, has meant that those countries had minimal policies to prevent social exclusion internally. Moreover, while global capitalism may bring opportunities to the poorest of the world, people within a certain jurisdiction newly find themselves disadvantaged and experiencing exclusion, for example factory workers in the U.S. He also points out that globalization has opened the door for unexpected players to emerge like Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea. Jordan describes “club-like communities of choice” and “a mainstream club of comfort” in opposition to “communities of fate” to suggest that globalization has created a situation where some have privilege and can adequately meet their needs and wants, while others are resigned to merely survive (Jordan 1996, 238). This echoes Aiyem Ong’s ideas of graduated sovereignty (2006): that some people are valued and thus are afforded privileges, while others are not in the global neoliberal system. Jordan also highlights the limitation on movement which interferes with the full functioning of a free market system in which labor is a commodity. He acknowledges that notions of citizenship have changed when he says that “commitment to citizenship as a membership category with priority

over others is diminished and individuals follow strategies that transcend the national dimension of interaction” (240). This means that citizenship is not a marker of who is included and who is not. While he acknowledges these changes, he does not delve into what happens when different groups are simultaneously seeking inclusion.

Oakley, Schindler and Jordan demonstrate that it is possible to apply ideas of exclusion to a global scale, but do not necessarily show how inclusion/exclusion on national and global scales function simultaneously. In contrast, Munck does acknowledge the interconnections between the national and global levels in terms of producing social inclusion/exclusion. He calls for an evaluation at the nation-state level in addition to an evaluation of social exclusion at the global level because the nation plays a role in the exclusionary policies that also affect global exclusion (2005). The local, state and global levels are different but overlapping, thus showing the complexity of social inclusion/exclusion when considering globalization. This complexity fits with the metaphors of globalization discussed in the previous section where globalization takes on meandering shape and bleeds into different areas without having set boundaries. One example of how we see the overlap and complexity is when cities compete for capital, they appeal to a global agenda, rather than a domestic one (Munck 2005). Certain populations within a city are excluded because they are deemed functionally unnecessary to the global agenda (Munck 2005). This results in vast social inequality within the city and the country that can be attributed to global forces. This relates to Mordue’s idea that globalization affects the urban environments through the creation of “dual cities” where the middle classes exist in the sociospatial core, while the lower classes are relegated to the periphery (2005, p 180).

Munck also acknowledges that notions of citizenship are changing and going beyond the national level, which requires re-thinking ideas of rights and who has them (2005). Although



Munck states that the majority of migrants around the world are transnational elites, he does not consider them to be excluded. When discussing how citizenship is changing, he reflects more on the way excluded migrants are demanding their rights despite not being citizens rather than discussing how elites are expecting certain rights and privileges as global citizens. While Munck addresses the multiple levels on which social inclusion/exclusion exists, his focus remains almost entirely on issues related to poverty and financial capital. He uses social exclusion as a broader term for talking about those things. He acknowledges that social capital is also important, but because social capital alone does not alleviate poverty it has lesser role in Munck's analysis (2005).

Some scholars who explore social exclusion in relationship to mobility are taking a broader perspective of what social exclusion refers to, thus carving out a space for middle class or upper class people to also experience exclusion. Kenyon, Lyons and Rafferty (2002) emphasize that being socially excluded is more complex than being poor, decoupling poverty and social exclusion. While poverty is "distributional" in terms of capital and goods, social exclusion is "relational" insofar as it is the relationship of resources and power among individuals, groups and the state (2002, p 208). Because poverty has been so closely linked to social exclusion, there is a general failure to acknowledge that there are other ways to be excluded that are unrelated to income, and that the materially wealthy can also be excluded. One thing Kenyon, Lyons and Rafferty really assert is that family/friend relationships and networks are such a key part of life, that when those are no longer easy to cultivate, people also experience exclusion. Family and friend networks tend to disintegrate the farther away people live, but the disintegration is exacerbated for people who have a lack of mobility. Mobility deprivation includes spatial, temporal, financial and personal constraints (210). This means that people living in places where

transportation options are limited, which may be coupled with poverty, but not always, may experience exclusion on the basis of mobility. However, it also means that people with more means who lack time or freedom from responsibilities may also experience exclusion. In looking at exclusion in this way, it carves a space for thinking that inclusion applies to a variety of people regardless of whether or not they are materially deprived.

Cass, Shove and Urry further this idea when they talk about “social-spatial exclusion: the ability to negotiate space and time so as to accomplish practices and maintain relations that people take to be necessary for normal social participation” (2005 p. 543). These authors similarly emphasize the importance of social relationships of friends, family and informal connections as essential components of everyday life. Citing the *Poverty and Social Exclusion: Survey of Britain* from 2000, they report that 80% of respondents list celebrating holidays and occasions like weddings and funerals as necessities of life, and 84% listed activities with friends and families (Cass, Shove and Urry 2005 p. 544) Thus, when access to social networks are limited because of mobility or otherwise, people experience exclusion. These scholars evaluating mobility and exclusion are taking a broader look at exclusion affecting a more diverse population.

### **2.3.3 Social Inclusion in the context of Latin America and Brazil**

In specific regard to Latin America, notions of social inclusion/exclusion have roots in both the Western European concept as well as ideas originating in Latin America. In the 1970s, there was a focus on marginality in Latin America (Munck 2005). This idea has helped to shape the concept as used in Latin America more contemporarily. Some scholars have tried to pinpoint what social exclusion looks like in the context of Latin America. Oakley says that it exists in three forms: exclusion from goods and services, livelihood, and security and human rights (2004

p. 100). He positions exclusion as not merely something that can be corrected by state intervention, but something that is “historical, political and geographical” (2004 p. 101). Arellano points out that the Latin American context means that social exclusion is addressing absolute rather than relative poverty in addition to ethnic and sexual discrimination (2011).

In terms of policy, Latin America, for the most part, shares the UN’s view of social exclusion using social inclusion policies to address issues related to poverty and inequality as well as ethnic and cultural diversity (Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch, 2004). Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch say that new policy interest regarding social inclusion has emerged due to the UN’s initiatives regarding racism and gender discrimination. Moreover, globalization and a stronger commitment to democracy in the region have also led to more policies addressing social exclusion. Among the groups who are having an influence on inclusion policies are women, indigenous people, people with disabilities and Afro-descendent groups.

In Latin America, exclusion based on race and ethnicity also has an economic component, as many of the region’s poorest are also those in minority racial and ethnic categories (Afro-descendants, indigenous). Thus, inclusion often does need to address both economic depravity as well as cultural ideas that lead to discrimination and exclusion. Zoninsein makes the case that it is economically beneficial to fight racial and ethnic exclusion (2004). He says that exclusion in Latin America is evident in people’s inability to access justice, social and political participation, as well as social services like health and education, labor markets, assets and credit markets, and decent infrastructure for water, sanitation, transportation and housing (2004 p 42). He refers to this status as “incomplete citizenship” due to the denial of civil, political and socioeconomic rights (2004). Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch write that social exclusion in Latin America has both a spatial as well as intergenerational dimension to it and that the region’s

history of colonial exploitation has led to the inequality that plays out via exclusion (2004, p. 6-7).

Policies to address social exclusion in Latin America started taking off in the 1990s and 2000s. Groups excluded because of race and ethnicity became more active in demanding their inclusion in various countries of the region. Inclusion initiatives such as Brazil's affirmative action program, Mexico's anti-discrimination legislation and Peru's laws banning racial discrimination all came into being during that period (Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch, 2004). Regarding economic exclusion, a number of countries also implemented policies to address extreme poverty. For example conditional cash transfer programs such as Progresas (now Oportunidades) in Mexico and Bolsa Familia in Brazil were also implemented in the late 1990s and 2000s. These programs incentivize things like going to school, eating healthy, and regular check-ups by providing cash to those who follow the guidelines. The idea is that intergenerational and extreme poverty can be addressed by supporting good health and education and by providing financial assistance. In Brazil, President Lula da Silva (2003-2011) was particularly instrumental in recognizing the need to address social exclusion by pledging to eliminate hunger in Brazil and implementing Bolsa Familia (Silver, 2004).

#### **2.3.4 Social Inclusion/Exclusion and Tourism**

In Brazil, social inclusion has been connected to tourism by the Ministry of Tourism. In its National Plan for Tourism it says, "Os Planos Nacionais de Turismo 2003-2007 e 2007-2010 basearam-se na perspectiva de expansão e fortalecimento do mercado interno, com especial ênfase na função social do turismo, objetivando transformar a atividade em um mecanismo de melhoria do Brasil e um importante indutor da inclusão social." (The National Tourism Plans of 2003-2007 and 2007-2010 are based on the perspective of expansion and strengthening of the

internal market, with special emphasis on the social function of tourism, aiming to transform tourism into an improvement mechanism for Brazil and an important conduit of social inclusion” (Brazilian Ministry of Tourism). The current National Tourism Plan does not specifically state social inclusion as a goal, however it says that the tourism sector will contribute through economic and social development and the eradication of poverty. That social inclusion has been stated as a goal of tourism by the Brazilian government shows how important social inclusion is in Brazil and the expectation that tourism may be able to foster that inclusion. The current version of the plan emphasizes the importance of tourism providing assistance to the financially disadvantaged, thus still alluding to social inclusion as it is commonly used.

Brazil is not the only country to connect tourism to social inclusion in its policies. Rendon and Bidwell discuss how the Peruvian government and development agencies employ a discourse linking tourism to inclusive development (2015). In the past decade numerous political summits have been held among Latin American countries in which social inclusion is the focus on tourism is one of the topics. For example, the World Economic Forum notes on its website that it held a forum addressing social inclusion in Panama in 2014, and the International Conference on Development, Social Inclusion and Regional Integration held in Brazil in 2011 is reported by the Inter-American Development Bank. In these conferences government officials reportedly discussed plans and the successes of tourism bringing about social inclusion

In addition to policy, social inclusion has also been connected to tourism in academic literature. Given the tendency to use social exclusion to discuss poverty and the trend to see tourism as a means to alleviate poverty (Arellano, 2011), it is only natural that tourism is seen as a potential way to fight social exclusion (Rendon and Bidwell, 2015). In fact, several scholars have evaluated the degree to which tourism does, indeed ameliorate social exclusion. Arellano

evaluates the degree to which tourism serves as an agent for social inclusion in regards to the porters who work the Inca Trail in Peru (2011). In her study, Arellano documents the porters' inabilities to obtain higher salaries, medical insurance and adequate food while on the job. Through this, she concludes that although their work in the tourism industry connects them differently than had they stayed working as subsistence farmers, they still largely remain socially excluded. This is evidenced by the racial discrimination they face that leads to a relatively low level participation in civil society and lack of access to education and services. Arellano's discussion of social inclusion focuses solely on the exclusion experienced by locals due to their material depravity and lack of social service support.

Rendon and Bidwell also evaluate tourism's success in fostering social inclusion in Peru (2015). They look specifically at the Colca Valley, a secondary tourist attraction, and after identifying what constitutes successful tourism, determine that for the most part, tourism is not achieving social inclusion with some minor, telling exceptions (2015). While local people in various regions of the Colca Valley have been given more opportunities to get involved in tourism through selling crafts, serving as tour guides, and receiving tourists in their homes, problems have developed as well (2015). For example, there has also been factionalism within communities that have lead to the exclusion of some local participants. Little has been done to incorporate traditional livelihoods into tourism, so as to allow local people to continue their traditions while simultaneously attracting tourists. The authors find that the lack of commercial development both contributes to the success and failure of tourism as a tool to inclusive development because on the one hand it allows the communities to get involved on their terms, while on the other it has not led to a mass influx of tourists (2015). Nevertheless, the authors conclude that the successes are a start and through collaboration could lead to greater inclusion.

Like Arellano, Rendon and Bidwell also focus their discussion of social inclusion on the local population struggling to gain more financial opportunities and social recognition.

Cabezas also looks at the exclusion of locals, focusing on tourism's failures rather than its successes in promoting social inclusion in her study on tourism in the Caribbean (2008). She argues that tourism labor deskills and devalues the Dominican people who work in the tourism industry thus marginalizing them (2008). Moreover, because so many of the hotels are foreign owned and managed, local workers are often excluded from employment (2008). Wearing and Darcy (2011) also talk about the tendency for tourism to exclude local populations while tourists and corporate stakeholders' interests are frequently accommodated in the tourism industry. However, the authors acknowledge that community-minded tourism like eco-tourism or CBT brings new opportunities for locals to be a part of the tourism industry (2011).

A number of scholars look at how space is used and accessed in tourism to evaluate social inclusion/exclusion. Williams' research in Salvador, Brazil leads her to conclude that tourism is furthering exclusion rather than fostering inclusion. She argues that the construction of space in the Historic Center allows foreign tourists and elites to use the space freely, while Afro-Brazilians and sex workers are excluded from that space (2014). Similarly Berg finds that Afro-Cubans are excluded from the public space in Old Havana, the touristy and historic neighborhood in that capital city (2005).

Other scholars take a more complex position on the construction and use of space in relationship to tourism, finding that both tourists and locals experience exclusion. Brooks considers how space is used and how the built environment serves to exclude locals by becoming spaces for tourists to dominate (2008). Neoliberal economic policies have led to this pattern of spatial organization that excludes locals. For example, in the city center which has upscale shops

catering to tourists, itinerant and informal traders do not have access to sell their products to tourists. However, Brooks also acknowledges that tourists can feel excluded because of the all-inclusive hotel is so wide-spread in Jamaica, they do not have the opportunity to get close to the local people and culture as they are seeking to do (2008). Mordue, finds that both locals and tourists have varying degrees of access to public spaces. His study in York, UK shows that both tourists and locals feel certain degrees of powerlessness in having a say over how public space is used (2005).

The studies on social exclusion/inclusion in tourism overwhelmingly consider the position of locals, rather than tourists, as excluded. This reflects the tendency to connect social inclusion/exclusion to issues of poverty and deprivation. Social inclusion/exclusion is measured in these studies by looking at the following factors: access to better quality of life via improved wages and benefits (Arellano 2011), ability to practice traditional lifestyles and work in the tourism industry (Rendon and Bidwell, 2015), access to higher skilled jobs (Cabezas, 2008), access to public space (Williams, 2014; Berg, 2005, Brooks, 2008), and having input into how public areas are used (Mordue, 2005). Thus, in general we are looking at improved financial conditions, valorization of culture and traditions, access to the city's resources and empowerment of the people. These criteria help inform my analysis of the degree to which social inclusion is being achieved for locals in Salvador. While the criteria established in these other studies is key to our current understanding, it opens the door for further study. Specifically, the degree to which social inclusion can be obtained through tourism projects precisely emerging from within the low-income communities has not been evaluated. Moreover, the quest for social inclusion by tourists is wholly understudied. The following subsection addresses where the study of tourists' inclusion fits into the larger social exclusion/inclusion literature.



### 2.3.5 Gaps in Social Inclusion literature

There are some limitations to the way the concept of social inclusion has been applied in both practice and theory. First of all, the application of the term in the context of globalization is incomplete. Many scholars focus on exclusion at the global level without considering that globalization is the interplay of multiple scales, not the least of which are local, national and global. Munck, the scholar who does consider this interplay is too focused on inclusion as the alleviation of poverty to see that there are parallel and competing interests towards social inclusion ignited by the increased movement of people around the globe. Evaluating the parallel and competing interests sheds further light on globalization's overall impact on inclusion/exclusion on the multiple scales.

The scholars that see inclusion/exclusion as something beyond poverty, pave the way for seeing how mobility and movement can lead to this complex view of exclusion. Nevertheless, their studies, again fail to address the multiple scales of globalization. These absences open the door, then, to a study that looks at the multi-scalar quest for social inclusion that also considers social inclusion outside the context of poverty.

The second limitation is related to the overwhelming association of social inclusion/exclusion with poverty in the literature, in addition to the assumed dichotomous relationship between inclusion and exclusion. Starting with the dichotomous relationship, social inclusion, while not spoken of as much, is often positioned as the opposite of social exclusion. Because social exclusion is so frequently associated with lack of access to materials and opportunities, social inclusion tends to refer to the *increased* access to goods, opportunities and resources. Moreover, although many people are included in society in some way, inclusion tends only to be salient when talking about previously excluded people or when social exclusion is

overcome. For example, despite the fact that Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch's book has social inclusion in the title, and the introduction contains the heading, "What, Exactly, Is Social Inclusion?", the entire section discusses social exclusion, rather than inclusion (2004). So social inclusion is only understood in terms of social exclusion.

However, social inclusion and exclusion are not merely opposites. Rather social inclusion and exclusion exist on a continuum representing a dynamic process where people can simultaneously be included and excluded in various aspects of their lives (Silver, 2006). Therefore, inclusion also exists without having overcome exclusion. As mentioned, many people in society are included and not everyone experienced a transformation from exclusion to inclusion to feel that way. Newcomers to a society like tourists or immigrants are going to sit somewhere on the continuum from excluded to included, most likely on a neutral ground, until something triggers feelings of inclusion or exclusion. The tourists in my study, have not been in Salvador long enough to be excluded in the sense that they have been systematically denied access. As Burchardt, et al.'s definition implies, exclusion happens over time (2002). They are not poor nor are they seeking political participation in Salvador. Therefore, even if they do not have access to those things, as Silver mentions, if that part of inclusion is not desired, it is not exclusion to not have it (2006). Of the seven indicators identified by Buvinic, Massa and Deutsch (2004), the issue of violence is of the most relevant to tourists, although as my data and analysis will show, the relationship of violence to tourists' inclusion is not altogether simple. Social participation and social capital indicators are also important to the tourists, but not for the same reasons or in the same context as the locals. For these reasons, while the tourists are in a questionable state of being included, I would not go so far as to say that they are experiencing exclusion. This quest for inclusion despite not being excluded is still worthy of understanding

and analysis. The inclusion tourists seek looks different from the inclusion excluded populations are seeking, and their quest for this inclusion is salient because it highlights some of the expectations and dynamics of a globalized world.

This also evidences why a broader understanding of social inclusion is necessary. In both practice and theory, social exclusion, and thus social inclusion, due to the binary view, has come to be very strongly related to a position or not of disempowerment related to degree of access to material goods, opportunities and resources in a society. While social inclusion/exclusion has a long history of referring to the materially marginalized, and this idea of social inclusion/exclusion is still valid in many cases including the portion of the present study on local residents, a number of scholars have articulated the need to think of inclusion/exclusion in broader terms (Silver 2006, Oakley 2004, Burchardt, et al 2002, Kenyon, Lyons, Rafferty 2002). Yet, this has not taken a strong hold, especially in tourism literature. For example, groups of racial or ethnic minorities who are disproportionately poor are often considered socially excluded.

Nevertheless, as the aforementioned theories on globalization attest, the global system is complex, which means it is difficult to fit the world simply into groups of haves and have-nots. Rather, a more nuanced way of thinking about social inclusion is necessary, and one way to do that is to evaluate what is at stake. For the materially disadvantaged, often resources and opportunities are at stake, thus bridging the material divide between them and other members of society. However, for more privileged members of society, and for the less-privileged as well, status is often at stake. Status has been part of the social exclusion/inclusion equation since Max Weber. Thus, in the same way that materially-disadvantaged people have something to gain by being included, the materially-advantaged people stand to gain as well. For that reason, their

quest for social inclusion also matters. Moreover, looking at the privileged's search for inclusion, can provide insights into the process for the less-privileged, whose achievement of social inclusion would bring about the more equal society that many people seek to create.

Because tourism literature has not considered a broader understanding of social inclusion, tourists' quest for social inclusion has not been explicitly addressed in tourism literature. Nevertheless, there is an underlying attitude that inclusion is what certain tourists seek. This quest for inclusion is often implied when the degrees of immersion a tourist has obtained are being evaluated and when suggesting that tourists are being integrated. The concepts of immersion and integration are more frequently used in tourism literature than is inclusion and reviewing the use of these terms as they relate to inclusion will shed light on tourists' quest for inclusion. The specifics of the connection among immersion, integration and inclusion will be covered in chapter five; however, the next section on cosmopolitanism will start to present how immersion has become such an important component of the tourist experience for certain tourists.

## **2.4 Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship**

Cosmopolitanism is a broad and contested concept. With origins in Ancient Greece, it has come to be applied to politics, economics, morality and culture. The moral approach focuses on human rights, the political approach on questions of world states or a global governing body, the economic approach on issues regarding an integrated market, and the cultural approach on people (Rovisco & Nowicka, 2011). While these different areas overlap at different points, scholars generally attempt to focus on one or two of these strands. Similarly, for the purposes of my research it is best to carve out the particular area of cosmopolitanism that is most applicable to my study. Broadly speaking, I am looking at cultural cosmopolitanism, but will narrow my

focus to cosmopolitan tourists in the second subsection

### **2.4.1 Origins and use of concept**

The first recorded use of the concept of cosmopolitanism is credited to Diogenes, a Greek cynic philosopher. He called himself a “cosmopolitan” (“Kosmou polites”) or literally a “citizen of the world” to suggest that he did not bear any special tie to a particular political entity like a city or state (Kleingeld, 2012, p 2), but nor was he advocating the formation of a unified world state (Appiah, 2008, pp 85-86). Thus, his notion of cosmopolitanism has been interpreted as caring about fellow human beings regardless of their political community out of duty to oneself as an individual rather than to a community of people (Appiah, 2008).

After Diogenes, the next major philosopher to pick up the idea of cosmopolitanism was Kant. Kant followed the stoic philosophical tradition, which differed from the cynic view. Thus, Kant, unlike Diogenes saw cosmopolitanism as a duty to others more than a duty to oneself. For Kant, cosmopolitanism was an affirmation of the moral obligation towards all humans regardless of political affiliation as members of a single community, and in this way idealized the creation of one unified state (Kleingeld, 2012).

Kant’s Enlightenment-inspired ideas largely influence the four strands of cosmopolitanism discussed today: political, economic, moral and cultural. Broadly speaking, I am interested in cultural cosmopolitanism insofar as I am interested in how people are identified or identify themselves as cosmopolitan in relation to their outlooks towards the expanse of people in the world. This outlook is one of openness and appreciation, resulting in an ability to navigate different cultural settings and interact with diverse people. This qualifies as cultural cosmopolitanism in that it is a cultural formation of people with similar outlooks and those outlooks are related to perceptions and interactions with other people who would be considered

part of a different cultural formation. While I will elaborate on this notion of “different cultural formations” while discussing cultural Others throughout this section, it is crucial to establish that my identification of a cultural Other either for cosmopolitans or between tourists and locals, is not necessarily related to nationality differences. There are infinite cultural formations depending on what characteristics are particularly salient in a given relationship at a given time. Thus, cultural cosmopolitanism is not something that articulates national differences only.

Cultural cosmopolitanism has undergone significant changes in the past twenty-five years. Always related to proximity to, if not appreciation of, cultural Others, historically, cosmopolitanism has been associated with elites (Hannerz, 2008). The cosmopolitans were elites and the cultural Others worth knowing were other elite cultures. For example, early 20<sup>th</sup> century Paris was seen as a place with significant high cultural production and thus was considered a place worthy of cosmopolitan subjects (Werbner, 2008a). While today’s Other still has a status attached to it, there is a much broader range of acceptable Others that the cosmopolitan would be able to know (as the next sub-section will elaborate).

In the past, only wealthy people with enough time or money to dedicate to traveling or learning about other places were considered cosmopolitan (Werbner, 2008a; Hannerz, 2008). Although people migrated and traveled for a wide variety of reasons during most periods of history, only those that traveled for leisure or absent economic necessity were considered cosmopolitan. Thus, the notion of a cosmopolitan subject was someone who had the luxury of learning about particular places or associating with Others from already privileged positions in their leisure time.

With industrialization and the expansion of the middle class, leisure and travel became more accessible to a wider group of people. Thus, cosmopolitanism became a reality for more

people as well. Then, with the dawn of the neoliberal era, the increasing tendencies toward financialization; international travel (for leisure, business and/or necessity); and transnational business have led to a greater necessity for navigating different cultural contexts (Werbner, 2008a). While acquiring the skills to do that may be more of a choice for some people than for others, the boundary between appreciating cultures for intrinsic rather than extrinsic value is blurring. Moreover, people may come into contact with the Other out of necessity but use leisure time to acquire cultural capital by learning about the Other. Despite the ambiguity, even today there is debate about who can or should be considered cosmopolitan, with Ulf Hannerz leading the argument that cosmopolitanism is a particular orientation that most migrants, exiles, refugees and business travelers do not embody (Hannerz, 1990 & 2008).

Hannerz aside, a significant number of scholars have taken up the issue of cosmopolitanism and made cases for more inclusive notions of cultural cosmopolitanism. James Clifford opened up a space for the non-elite people who have traveled throughout history: servants, guides, travel companions to be considered cosmopolitan (1992). He calls the travel of people who have been displaced and transplanted as discrepant cosmopolitanism, challenging the dominant narrative that only certain classes of people are cosmopolitan (1992).

Since Clifford, a number of cosmopolitanisms that challenge the elite status have emerged (Webner, 2008b & 2011; Sichone, 2008; Molz, 2011; Sheller, 2011). They include cosmopolitanisms that move away from Eurocentric notions of the term such as “vernacular cosmopolitanism” that encapsulates non-Western notions of cosmopolitanism (Werbner, 2011), and “tropicopolitan” that suggests a cosmopolitanism from below, specifically within the Global South (Sheller, 2011). These cosmopolitanisms make a case that people who move across or between different cultural formations because of economic or political necessity can also be

cosmopolitan.

In addition to expanding notions of cosmopolitanism to those who move because of personal circumstance, there are also cosmopolitanisms that suggest that movement is not even a requirement for being a cosmopolitan subject or having a cosmopolitan outlook. Aesthetic cosmopolitanism is consuming other cultures through choices of what to buy (Molz, 2011, p 35). It does not require traveling to exercise this type of cosmopolitanism. Banal cosmopolitanism is another cosmopolitanism that does not require, but could involve, movement. It is built on the idea that encountering cultural others (people, ideas, products, etc.) is so pervasive, that cosmopolitanism is acquired subconsciously (Molz, p 35). In his book *The Cosmopolitan Vision*, Ulrich Beck also supports the idea that cosmopolitanism is not always an active choice. It can occur through a process of osmosis or unconsciously being influenced by the range of ideas and practices with which one comes into contact (2006). These emerging cosmopolitanisms suggest that cosmopolitanism is no longer solely reserved for the elite and that an increasing number of people can be cosmopolitan whether they travel or not.

Contemporary cosmopolitan literature suggests that Martha Nussbaum's article in the Boston Review in 1994 was a catalyst of sorts for considering what it means to be cosmopolitan. Her basic argument was to advocate for a form of cosmopolitanism where people's "primary allegiance was to the community of human beings in the entire world" through civic education (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 3). Nussbaum, writing for a particularly U.S. audience, says that U.S. students should be taught that they are citizens of the world above all else, not that they are U.S. citizens above all. She also mentions that this does not mean that people should do away with other communities or identities they have formed. By providing a cosmopolitan education: people will learn more about themselves; there will be more engagement in internationally



cooperative problem solving; there will be an acknowledgement of the moral obligations held to the rest of the world; and there would be a consistent message advocating the harmonious relationships across different groups (ethnic, racial, gender, religion, etc.) both within and outside the U.S. (Nussbaum, 1994).

Nussbaum's idealistic call for a more cohesive world provoked many criticisms and responses. Among them was to point out the Western-dominated notion of cosmopolitanism and its ahistoricity in not considering the effects of colonialism and slavery (Bhambra, 2008; Mignolo, 2008). The values of acceptance and harmonious coexistence with Others does not exactly coincide with the history of the Western world, so why should the West now get to define what that is? Moreover, both slavery and colonialism forced people to accept Others and the subsequent changes to their cultures, ways of life, etc. Accepting and appreciating Others is not always a good thing, especially when the Others' objective is to dominate people and subjugate them to their demands. For that reason, populations who suffer the legacy of colonialism and slavery, may be more ambivalent about accepting others, or, these legacies may lead them to accept others in a way that is self-disparaging. This is not the utopia that Nussbaum depicts.

For these reasons and others, it is clear that cosmopolitanism is not a perfect concept. For example, with the emergence of post-colonial discourse, the concept opened up to be a celebration and appreciation of all cultures, but in order to appreciate the cultures, the cultures need to be different. Therefore, embedded in this idea is that there are people who can all be the same and appreciate differences and there are those who need to be different (and therefore not change and adopt things from others or become appreciative of other cultures, unless they already were, in which case that is called something else). This denies interacting with the world

as if there is a shared humanity, because it does not treat all of humanity the same. Trying to merge the universal with the particular is complicated.

Along the lines of contradiction is the problem of the different strands of cosmopolitanism not coming together. The fact that people adopt a cosmopolitan outlook without regard to whether that translates into universal human rights or a universal governing body reflects the impracticality of cosmopolitanism. People embrace it only so long as it suits their interests. Once one has to face the reality of it, like how to merge valuing difference with universal concepts of human rights, it becomes complicated, and no longer part of the same conversation. Cosmopolitanism is a utopia, and people tend to think they have achieved the utopia without realizing that they are nowhere near it.

Finally, the expansion of the understanding of who can or should be considered cosmopolitan, while certainly appropriate in some instances, also has the potential to render the term ineffectual in others. For example, when using degree of cosmopolitanism as a tool for measuring inequalities and power differentials, it does not help to expand who should be considered cosmopolitan if it happens on such different terms. By using a broad definition of cosmopolitan, it could be argued that almost everyone is cosmopolitan to some extent, but to do that would be to ignore many of the social inequalities that exist. In that regard, I have chosen to focus my discussion on cosmopolitanism to the tourists in Salvador. As the next sub-section will illustrate, this brings us back into a discussion that focuses on people with privilege and a relatively elite status. That said, the expanded understanding and criticisms of elite-only cosmopolitanism inform my analysis regarding inclusion.

#### **2.4.2 Cosmopolitan Formation of Tourists**

As previously mentioned, cosmopolitanism is a very broad concept that can become self-

contradictory, so it is more useful when the appropriate aspects of it are highlighted. In the case of the cosmopolitan formation of tourists, the global citizenship component of cosmopolitanism is highly relevant. A number of scholars have established a link between global citizenship and cosmopolitanism, or described global citizenship in a way that helps to identify the cosmopolitan formation of tourists. In his essay, “Global Flows and Global Citizenship,” John Urry establishes seven categories of global citizens, one of which is the cosmopolitan, “who develops a stance and an ideology of openness towards certain ‘other’ cultures, people and environments often resulting from extensive corporal travel” (2000a, p. 72). This suggests that travel frequently contributes to the formation of the global citizen, but that travel needs to be accompanied by a particular ideology that one develops. Molz says that the “detached, de-situated and disembodied” cosmopolitan is a version of the global citizen (2006, p. 2), again implying that movement is involved, and also pointing to individualism due to the lack of connections to others. Butcher and Smith link global citizenship to the activity of international volunteering (2010), connecting global citizenship to travel as well as to civic engagement. Beauregard and Bounds use the term “cosmopolitan citizenship” to refer to those who are concerned for vulnerable and oppressed groups and respect the world’s diversity (2000). This reflects the ideology that Urry talks about, but takes it a step further to suggest that the ‘other’ is a vulnerable population. Beauregard and Bounds also suggest that the cosmopolitan citizens transcend the parochialism of national citizenship in which they are pushed to care more about the welfare of their fellow national citizens than to that of the rest of humanity. Molz refutes this last idea, saying that global citizenship does not preclude national citizenship and that identities are layered, suggesting that people maintain multiple identities at once (2006).

In addition, scholars who link the cosmopolitan to the global citizen tend to position the

subject in a relatively privileged or elite status. That the global citizen is someone who travels frequently, can afford to be detached from a community, and is sufficiently well off to be able to take an interest in not only one's own but others' well-being, all point to requiring a level of privilege to engage in global citizenship. In her book *Flexible Citizenship*, Aihwa Ong points to the elite status of cosmopolitan global citizens and how that becomes tangible through things like passports or travel visas. In her case study, the elite Chinese transnationals who travel frequently, intent on accumulating more capital and dodging state discipline have loyalty to very little beyond their families (and family businesses) and to profits (1999). In order to live that lifestyle, the elites have either U.S. passports or visas that give them access that non-elites do not have. Snee demonstrates that it is not only the academics who see global citizenship as a privileged status (2014). In her introduction to *A Cosmopolitan Journey?* she cites online comments on a blog about gap year travel in which the people are extremely critical of the privilege the traveler possesses (2014). Thus, to be a global citizen is a privileged position that is associated with elite status.

Given the centrality of travel, it is clear that tourism is part of cosmopolitan global citizenship. Moreover, the individualism, the outlook of concern or appreciation, the behaviors of volunteering, and the privileged position all resonate with certain tourism types that are increasingly popular. Thus, in tourism, we are seeing the emergence of a cosmopolitan formation of tourists.

Recent tourism literature acknowledges the increased amount of alternative tourism endeavors, many of which have materialized so as to create ethical tourism options where attention is paid to residents and communities of the destination. Different categories such as volunteer (Conran, 2011; McGehee, 2012; Ooi & Laing 2010; Lyons & Wearing, 2008;

McGehee & Santos, 2005), philanthropic (Lacey, Peel, & Weiler, 2012), educational (Hudgens, 2012; Brown, 2009), gap years (Snee 2014) and solidarity (Higgins-Desbiolles & Russell-Mundine, 2008) tourism are defined, explained and evaluated. While each of these different categories has its place and role within the tourism industry, there are a number of similarities that cut across them. For example, the demographic of those participating in such pursuits tends to be privileged (Snee 2014): western, well-educated and middle or upper class (Conran, 2011; Ooi & Laing, 2010); the destinations tend to be where there are vulnerable populations (Beauregard and Bounds 2000) in developing economy countries; the activities center on the individual and frequently and purposefully diverge from mass tourism (Hudgens, 2010); and, in the promotion of and participation in the activities, there is an overall consideration for the host population (Mahrouse, 2011). There is a strong correlation, then, between these characteristics and those of a cosmopolitan global citizen.

Employing Emirbayer's notion of relational sociology: looking at the intersections rather than the bounded categories, we can obtain a more complete understanding of the social world (1997). Moreover, the articulation of different tourist types do not reflect the multiple constructs and experiences that are part of being a tourist (McCabe, 2009). Thus, despite the different labels and genres for alternative tourism, one can see the emergence of such activities as part of a larger tourist phenomenon: the cosmopolitan formation of tourists. The cosmopolitan formation of tourists is comprised of tourists engaged in alternative, immersive tourist activities because of their awareness and concern for the well-being of the host community. Those activities include participating in volunteer or service activities, engaging with members of the host communities through living arrangements or activities, learning the local language so as to communicate with locals and learning about the realities of the host community.

The cosmopolitan tourist trend, however, goes beyond an attitude towards the host community and is also characterized by a desire to distinguish oneself through acquiring cosmopolitan or global citizen status. Thus, many people engaged in activities that fit into the cosmopolitan tourism trend are also participating in those activities in order to obtain cosmopolitan or global citizen status. As this tourism trend is largely practiced by middle-class, western tourists (Conran, 2011; Ooi & Laing, 2010), the perception of what it means to obtain cosmopolitanism or global citizenship status, are largely based on the western ideals of cosmopolitanism where it is important to demonstrate an outlook of openness and appreciation of Others and the acceptable Other worth knowing has expanded greatly in contemporary times. Thus, a tourist can obtain cosmopolitan or global citizen status when his/her outlook of openness and appreciation towards diverse cultural formations results in an ability to navigate different cultural settings and interact with diverse people. In this way tourists are motivated to use their tourist experience to successfully acquire cross-cultural competence, thus demonstrating the centrality of productivity to this type of tourist experience (Snee 2014). Generally the cross-cultural competence skills come about through participating in tourist activities that fit into the cosmopolitan formation. Therefore, certain tourist activities allow one to fit into the cosmopolitan formation of tourists; however, it is in adopting and acquiring certain attitudes and skills, not just participating in the activities, that provide one with cosmopolitan or global citizen status.

The cosmopolitan or global citizen status is a popular condition to which to aspire because global citizenship's association with travel, individualism, concern and awareness of the vulnerable, and transcendence of national boundaries has made it synonymous with international savvy and sophistication. Thus, within the cosmopolitan formation of tourists, many people are

simultaneously seeking to demonstrate concern for the host community while seeking that global citizen status. Thus, the cosmopolitan formation of tourists incorporates elements of an outward disposition towards the host community as well as an inward-looking goal for oneself. How these two elements work together will be further discussed in this section.

The desire to adopt the outward disposition has largely emerged due to dissatisfaction with homogenizing forces like mass tourism and globalization (Werbnier 2008a and Lyons et al, 2012). Mass tourism is often criticized for its neglect of local people, destruction of the natural environment and inauthentic portrayal of cultures and traditions. To engage in tourism that shows appreciation and concern for the people, their culture and the environment is to take a stance against mass tourism and the people who engage in it. Standing in contrast to others is what leads to the status associated with global citizenship.

Similarly, globalization is criticized for increasing disparities between the have and have-nots, and homogenizing cultures all around the world. Global citizenship is positioned as an alternative to this where privileged people celebrate cultural uniqueness and take an interest in the vulnerable. To forego their relative degree of privilege, these people are consciously avoiding both the arrogance of not caring about inequalities, and the ignorance of not knowing about them, both of which plague many in the privileged classes. In doing this, they are distinguishing themselves from the elites benefitting from global capitalism without any regard to the negative impacts. Again, we see that status comes into play even as these people demonstrate an outlook of concern for others.

One way of illustrating how status is entangled with this outlook of concern is through Appadurai's idea of "scapes" (1996) in relationship to global celebrities, one of Urry's subsets of cosmopolitan global citizens (2000a). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s celebrity activists

appeared in charity ad campaigns to discuss the plight of impoverished children around the world and urge people to donate money (Mukherjee, 2012). More recently, celebrities' endeavors to create global families by adopting children from diverse countries are reported on. These mediascapes (Appadurai, 1996) demonstrate that it is appropriate for elites to take an interest in and accept the vulnerable, despite not being elite. This contributes to that changing notion of the "acceptable other worth knowing" described in the previous subsection on cosmopolitanism. In addition, it suggests that part of global citizenship is to show concern for the vulnerable. Moreover, through celebrity association it connects global citizenship to superior status. For the same reasons that celebrities are successful in marketing products, people attach cultural capital to what celebrities endorse, including global citizenship (Bourdieu, 1973). Thus, global citizenship combines the concern for vulnerable populations with status for oneself.

One group particularly influenced by this discourse of global citizenship is the millennial generation of the Global North. Charity ad campaigns are more prevalent in the Global North (Mukherjee, 2012), and thus, millennials of the Global North have been particularly exposed to the ideas that global citizenship offers both status as well as an opportunity to show concern for vulnerable populations. In her book, *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making of Development* (2010) Ananya Roy writes about how important global citizenship is to members of the millennial generation, characterized by their vigor in tackling the widespread problems of poverty, exploitation and inequality exacerbated by globalization (2010). As Roy notes, at relatively young ages, middle class millennials are traveling abroad to intern, volunteer and engage in service-learning experiences in an effort to help and learn about the struggles of the underprivileged (2010). Snee reports on members of the millennial generation participating in gap years and in doing so, putting an emphasis on activities that make a difference to local



communities and are morally superior to other tourism activities (2014). Thus, millennials' activism can be seen as an attempt to altruistically work to solve some of the problems of the world. However, an increasing number of higher education institutions, employers, and funding organizations are putting value on applicants who have "multicultural" experience or the ability to speak multiple languages. Jones reports that employers have shown a preference for hiring people who have participated in gap year experiences (2004). Many of the youth participating in international travel are using those experiences to better market themselves for education endeavors and careers (Snee 2014). In this way, the altruism of showing concern for the vulnerable is completely intertwined with the status one can obtain for oneself.

As many global citizen aspiring tourists come to realize, these two things do not fit together without problems and controversy. First of all, as these global citizens take great pains to acknowledge the vulnerable in some places, their quest for superior status reifies inequalities and exclusions (Snee 2014). In order to embody such global citizen openness by learning a language or traveling internationally, it requires a certain amount of financial capital, and thus is prohibitive for lower classes. For that reason, in obtaining the global citizen distinction, there is also an exclusion of people from lesser financial means. Because of the social justice component and that pursuing global citizenship is to forego a degree of privilege, this exclusion of the lower classes often goes unacknowledged. At the same time global citizens have the personal benefit of disassociating from things that are seen as inferior. For example, living a privileged lifestyle and not acknowledging that privilege, or demonstrating ignorance of the world, or a lack of multilingualism (an especially common trope regarding people in the United States) are all things that are positioned in opposition to cosmopolitanism. Sometimes global citizens are distinguishing themselves from other elites who have just as much opportunity to pursue global

citizenship but choose not to. However, more often, global citizens are distinguishing themselves from and positioning themselves as superior to people who have not been afforded the type of opportunities to pursue global citizen status. Thus, global citizenship reconstructs some of the divisions that it attempts to break down.

The potential for global citizenship pursuits to lead to the commodification of culture furthers the controversy. There is a very fine line between demonstrating interest in cultures as a way to acknowledge and appreciate diversity and as a way to have a unique experience for one's own personal benefit (Snee 2014). Some globalization scholars argue that globalization, rather than solely homogenizing cultures, actually is a process that makes cultures acceptably different (Moreiras, 2004; Wilk, 1995). They become so acceptably different that people want to see them or experience them and they become commodified. As Moreiras states, "globalization turns solidarity into an orientalist poetics" (2004, p. 89). One could say that global citizenship, in its guise to be open and to be in solidarity with Others, is an example of this.

In a study of food consumption patterns among cosmopolitan travelers (which she defined as such because they were traveling around the world) Molz found that people wanted to try anything as a means to embody their cosmopolitan openness (2007). Despite an openness towards trying different foods, through eating, one cannot dismiss the symbolic act of consuming the Other for personal achievement. Moreover, despite openness, cosmopolitan travelers do not visit everywhere; they choose the places they visit. In this way, they are placing a value on which Others are worth knowing (Molz, 2011). In this process they are also commodifying differences. Given that this discourse of openness is stemming in large part from privileged cosmopolitans in the Global North, it ends up being a commodification of cultural differences that exist in the Global South for the privileged people of the Global North to use to bolster their

social status and/or to find jobs. This is precisely why it is criticized for being a neocolonial project or another Orientalist technology (Mignolo, 2011; Bhambra, 2011; Molz, 2011; Moreiras, 2004), and the concern for the vulnerable becomes invisible in many instances. In valuing openness, cosmopolitans are valuing Otherness and reifying differences. In this process, boundaries are constructed, precisely excluding rather than including people and further creating hierarchies hidden in a discourse of openness, not unlike colonialism's reliance on a discourse of humanism as a means to justify the subjugation of entire continents of people (Tusia, 2012).

These controversies make it all the more imperative to evaluate how cosmopolitan tourism fosters social inclusion both for the tourists and the locals. The dual agendas of showing concern for the host population and achieving global citizen status inevitably set up expectations for the tourists about fostering social inclusion for themselves and for locals, which may not correlate with reality. The successes and failures of the cosmopolitan tourists in this study to foster social inclusion for themselves and for locals will provide insight into how social inclusion operates on multiple scales as well as what can be done so that tourists can focus more on the altruistic side of the cosmopolitan tourist pursuits. It is with this in mind that I conduct my analysis of cosmopolitan tourists in Chapters 5 and 6.

## **2.5 Tourism in Low-Income Areas**

The final section of my literature review focuses on the phenomenon of tourism to low-income areas. This phenomenon has the dual agenda of exposing tourists to low-income communities of the destination and providing low-income residents opportunities through their involvement in the tourism industry. The specifics of the emergence of these two trends will be covered below, but generally speaking they reflect an increasing concern for global inequalities and the increased access to people of diverse contexts. After the rise of mass tourism following

World War II, scholars and activists began to question the effects of tourism especially on low-income communities whose lands and livelihoods were disrupted by massive developments to serve the tourism industry and whose cultural practices were often exploited for the entertainment of tourists. With the exacerbation of inequality due to globalization and the financialization of the world economy, concern for the poor has increased. This has brought about a movement in tourism called pro-poor tourism, which is an attempt to use tourism to primarily bring economic and other benefits to the poor (Scheyvens, 2011). This can be done in a variety of tourism contexts including mass tourism and different types of alternative tourism. Pro-poor tourism brings low-income communities into the center of discussions regarding tourism. However, beyond merely being discussed, low-income communities are also being visited as tourists have increasing opportunities to make such visits a part of their travel itineraries. Such tours bring low-income communities to the center of tourists' experiences. Ultimately, the low-income tourism phenomenon that I am exploring looks at the confluence of these two trends: tourists visiting low-income communities and low-income residents engaged in and deriving benefits from tourism. However, these two trends do not always go together within the phenomenon of low-income tourism. The below will explain the different realities of low-income tourism and how these two trends have come to merge specifically in the context of Brazil and Salvador.

### **2.5.1 Origins and Terminology**

Tourism into low-income neighborhoods is not a new phenomenon, however current interest and hype around it may seem novel. There are reports as early as the mid-nineteenth century in London of the wealthy visiting slums generally under the auspice of charity and welfare concern for the residents (Steinbrink, Frenzel, & Coens, 2012). London tourists then

brought the phenomenon to New York, interested in comparing the slums of the two industrial cities. Late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks from New York, Chicago and San Francisco report on offerings of guided tours to slums, which were primarily ethnic enclaves that were of interest to the Anglo-Saxon majority (Steinbrink, et al., 2012). By the early twentieth century, slum tourism became a routinized part of urban tourism, and it's main purpose was to provide the opportunity to gaze at the life of the unknown Other, who was "other" in both economic and social terms (Steinbrink, et al., 2012). Today's slum tours are now primarily concentrated in the Global South, again reflecting the disparity of wealth that exists in the globalized world.

While today's touring of low-income areas has historic roots, the phenomenon as it exists today differs from what was reported on during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before delving into those differences, however, it is important to identify what the current phenomenon is, and how I am defining it in my study. Contemporary reference to slum tourism, generally refers to visits to overcrowded, urban neighborhoods characterized by makeshift housing, underdeveloped infrastructure, and an overall aura of poverty. Classic examples include South Africa's townships, Brazil's favelas and India's slums. While I see these examples as a significant portion of the larger phenomenon of low-income tourism, I prefer to use the broader term "low-income tourism" rather than slum tourism for several reasons. First, I find the highly aestheticized terms of "slum" or "favela" to be limiting and misleading. Urban communities facing underdevelopment, a shortage of resources and/or the problems brought on by poverty do not always take the same form, nor do they always have slum/favela aesthetics. Moreover, the aesthetics are not the only reason people visit those places. Because I am more interested in the phenomenon of visiting urban places of lower income and lower resources, I am opting to use a term that is descriptive but is not so limiting in the form in which these

communities should exist.

I considered referring to this phenomenon by other terms, such as poverty tourism, which, when employing it to talk about tourists engaging in the practice, seemed appropriately blatant. However, when thinking about the people who were trying to attract tourists to their communities (also part of my study), it seemed counterproductive to their goals of showing what, besides poverty, is significant in their community. For that reason, the more neutral “low-income tourism” is more appropriate. While its composition of predominantly low-income and poor residents is a characteristic of the neighborhood and perhaps what is attracting tourists, there is plenty of room in the term “low-income tourism” to expect that such tourism will not only be focused on what is lacking in the community, but in showing off what is being accomplished.

Based on this definition and terminology, what is often referred to as slum tourism, (or poorism or poverty tourism) fits into what I am looking at. Nevertheless, my study also extends into other categories that may or may not fit into people’s understandings of slum tourism. Those include touring low-income neighborhoods that do not look like slums, volunteer tourism into low-income neighborhoods, and community or community-based tourism being run in low-income neighborhoods. While I do not consider low-income tourism to be only an urban phenomenon, that is what I am looking at in this study, and urban low-income tourism is significant because it is usually referring to a segment of an entire city. Whereas rural low-income communities may be the entire town, village or region, in an urban city, there exists more economic diversity meaning that the low-income part is in contrast to the middle or high income parts, which produces a particular dynamic worthy of exploration.

As mentioned, today’s low-income tourism has taken shape differently than how it was in

the past. A fundamental difference is geographic location. In the past people were touring slums in the Global North and in some cases were touring the slums in their own cities. Today's slum tourism often involves a plane ticket to somewhere halfway around the world, and today's slum tourists tend to be from the Global North visiting low-income areas of the Global South. While slums and low-income communities still exist in the Global North, it is significant that tourists are preferring to visit these areas outside the context of their own cities or countries. One explanation for this is the increasing globalization of the world and the notion that one's sense of belonging is no longer limited to a city or a country, but rather to the world, similar to the increased aspirations for global citizenship. Yet, there are other explanations for why this is occurring and much of it needs to be considered in light of the different motives that exist for participating in low-income tourism.

There is a range of reasons for which tourists are motivated to visit low-income communities. The first is sheer curiosity at learning or seeing how other people live. In this case, tourists are likely to participate in tours of low-income areas regardless of what they know about the company sponsoring the tour or its relationship to the community visited. Their main interest is just to have this experience, to say they did it or saw it, and that is all. This type of low-income tourism is often criticized by tourism scholars, among others, for being voyeuristic and invading privacy, for romanticizing or exoticizing poverty and suffering, and as further exemplification of wealthy tourists engaging in insensitive behaviors at the expense of the less-privileged people of the host communities (Frenzel, 2012; Basu 2012; Freire-Medeiros, 2009).

A second motivation for engaging in low-income tourism is to gain exposure to the issues of global inequality and poverty through seeing it first-hand. This is done as a way to demonstrate interest in the lives of low income people, to show support for their struggles, or to

possibly get engaged in some kind of project in the future that works to alleviate inequalities. There are a number of terms that are used for this type of tourism including solidarity (Higgins-Desbiolles & Russell-Mundine, 2008); reality (Mahrouse, 2011; Freire-Medeiros, 2009); and political (Frenzel, 2012). Such tourists are likely to participate through some sort of socially conscious tour group or tourism program and would not merely participate with any tour company, unless it demonstrated an interest in giving back to the community. Organizers of such tours and programs, are likely to operate under the idea that if you cannot eliminate the inequality of tourism, at least turn it into something more humane (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). While this approach to touring low-income communities receives far less criticism than the voyeur motivation, scholars still raise concerns about it. For example, this tourism can reproduce relationships of power and imperial dynamics (Mahrouse, 2011). It is still a situation where the rich are visiting the poor and rarely becomes an opportunity for the toured to be tourists (Higgins-Desbiolles & Russell-Mundine, 2008). Moreover, such tourists are also not purely altruistic: visiting low-income communities under the auspice of being socially conscious may also just be a way to cover-up the ethically questionable act of visiting the areas to begin with. In addition tourists' interventions are not always appropriate/successful/what the community wants.

A third motivation is to visit low-income communities in order to engage in some sort of service project in the community. This type of tourism would best fall into the category of volunteer tourism, but there are many people who combine their service work with other types of tourism like students studying abroad and religious groups. Tourists motivated by "helping" in the low-income community, participate via a wide range of programs. Some of those programs are more oriented towards profit and others are non-profit organizations that could be interested



in providing an opportunity for tourists, sponsoring a viable project in the community, or both. Volunteer tourism has been both lauded and criticized by tourism scholarship. For example, volunteer tourism has been praised for fostering greater reflexivity about one's position (Rehberg, 2005). Outside of raising awareness regarding oneself, scholars have also argued that volunteer tourism can raise consciousness among tourists about the issues other people face and encourage activism long after the tourist experience has concluded (McGehee, 2002; McGehee & Santos, 2005). However, other scholars have criticized volunteer tourism claiming that it assuages guilt and serves to mask the structural inequalities that exist between tourists and hosts (Conran, 2011), it does not accomplish the global understanding it is assumed to promote (Lyons, et al., 2012), and that it promotes a "drop-in heroism effect" (Hudgins, 2010, p. 24). Hudgins even reports on her research saying that both the students and the group leaders alike question the effectiveness of their actions, believing that the greater beneficiaries are the tourists not the members of the low-income communities receiving the volunteers. Thus, low-income tourism with a volunteer component has both positive and negative consequences; much depends on the specific context of how it is carried out, making it important to really home in on the nuances of any given volunteer tourism endeavor.

A fourth motivation to tour low-income communities is due to professional pursuits. The primary example of this are academics doing research in the community, however, doctors, teachers, business people, etc. could all visit the community for reasons related to their profession. This is definitely an under-researched area, so there is not much literature on this. Basu reports on how academics have been "slumming" it in India's slums long before slum tourism (where money exchanged for the opportunity to visit) took off (2012, p 67). Yet it was not until the tourism started that criticisms started to be lodged. This suggests that professionals

touring low-income communities as part of their work-related duties is a more acceptable phenomenon. Nevertheless, it seems that in the absence of research on the subject, one could speculate that certainly there are objections to professionals' presence in the communities, especially depending on what they are using their visit for. If it is merely for personal gain, then such visits are likely to generate ill feelings among community members, and perhaps should be held to a greater degree of scrutiny.

The best-known examples of low-income tourism in Brazil are tours into Rio de Janeiro's favelas. Favelas are an urban phenomenon that started in Rio around the turn of the twentieth century (Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Tusia, 2012). Rio's topography and geography led to the creation of these low-income communities built into the mountains in the city's center (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Thus, favelas were characterized by their removal from, yet proximity to the main areas of the city. Overtime, low-income communities have popped up in more peripheral areas and in other cities, and on some instances are still referred to as favelas. However, favelas as they exist in Rio are the most well-known, and Rio is the epicenter of the favela tourism phenomenon.

Marcelo Armstrong, a tour operator with "Favela Tours" is credited with introducing favela tourism in 1992 in conjunction with the Rio Earth Summit that brought many activists to the city (Basu, 2012; Steinbrink, et al., 2012; Freire-Medeiros, 2009). While these areas are largely shunned by local elites, international tourists have been fascinated by the inter-workings of these neighborhoods (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). The most frequently visited favela is Rocinha (Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Tusia, 2012) with seven tour companies operating there along with a plethora of independent guides who take groups or individuals (Freire-Medeiros, 2009). Cejas reports that in the most popular tour agency alone, more than 4500 tourists per year visited

Rocinha (2006). Tourism Concern, a UK-based NGO supporting ethical tourism practices estimates that 40,000 tourists visit favelas in Rio each year (Tourism Concern, n.d.). Favelas are a popular part of the tourist itinerary in Rio, providing tourists with an opportunity to extend their view of Rio beyond the beaches and the Christ Redeemer statue.

Freire-Medeiros attributes much of international tourists' interest in favelas to the production of a "favela trademark" (2009). Certainly the success of the film *City of God* has been a factor in putting favelas in the international spotlight. But beyond this, Freire Medeiros discusses the existence of restaurants, bars and nightclubs throughout the world with "favela" in their names, and that each have their own way of producing attractive, exotic, or popular associations with the spaces in Brazil. The lack of accuracy in the presentation of favelas in these places means that, many tourists come to Brazil with an interest in favelas, but not knowing what to expect, including that favelas are not necessarily universal in Brazil. Thus, while there are other places in Brazil that have favela aesthetics and characteristics, and now, the term favela is used more broadly throughout Brazil, "favelas" and favela tours in cities other than Rio, are not nearly as commodified and organized. For that reason, tourists are unlikely to find a similar "favela tour" experience in a place like Salvador, and residents are able to take advantage of tourists' interest in favelas to create tours in their communities that do not follow the favela model. The majority of favela tours in Rio are operated by companies and employees who do not have a personal connection to the toured neighborhoods. In this way the favela tours have a minimal benefit on the low-income neighborhoods. Both within Rio as well as outside where the favela tour model is not followed so closely, this is changing. More and more low-income residents are taking control of the tourism in their neighborhoods through community-based tourism.

### **2.5.2 Community-Based Tourism**

While community-based tourism does not have to be tourism into low-income areas, that is the case for CBT projects in Salvador. CBT tourism in Salvador is said to have started with the four communities in the Astro NGO that I am studying (see next chapter for further background). All four of the communities face problems of poverty and underdevelopment and are not part of the city's typical tour circuit. At the time of my research, the four communities were advertised on SALTUR's (the Salvador tourism company supported by the city government) website as offering community-based social tours, thus appearing as the only community-based tours in the city.- This, despite the fact that there are other CBT endeavors, including an extensive project coordinated at the State University of Bahia (UNEB) for communities in the Cabula and Entorno region of the city. These communities are also located in the peripheral, less-wealthy areas of Salvador. CBT is an opportunity to include these peripheral areas of the city on tourist routes, however, the inclusion of the different communities under the category of CBT is a point of contention, as are the definition of and objectives that should be accomplished through CBT.

The problems with articulating a definition and objectives of CBT are not limited to the case of Salvador. In general, there is a lack of consensus about CBT. Goodwin and Santilli's 2009 study suggests that the academic definition of CBT as being community-owned and/or managed and intended to deliver wider community benefits is not reflected in how the communities involved in CBT define the success of CBT. While the academic definition emphasizes the community ownership and wider community benefits, 70% of community members suggest that the goals of CBT should primarily be social capital and empowerment, while 40% mentioned commercial viability, and a mere 12% indicated collective benefits as being an indication of a successful CBT project (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009). Boonratana

conducts a study in which he attempts to define CBT, ultimately producing the following: “economically, environmentally, socially, and culturally responsible visitation to local/indigenous communities to enjoy and appreciate their cultural and natural heritage, whose tourism resources, products, and services are developed and managed with their active participation, and whose benefits from tourism, tangible or otherwise, are collectively enjoyed by the communities” (2010, p. 286). This definition sets expectations for how tourists engage with the community, which the community has no control over, and for that reason is disempowering and insufficient.

Meanwhile, the Brazilian government, through its Ministry of Tourism defines CBT as: “Uma maneira diferente de se fazer o turismo, sendo esta atividade um modelo de desenvolvimento local, orientado pelos princípios da economia solidária, associativismo, valorização da cultural local, e principalmente, protagonizado pelas comunidades locais, visando à apropriação por parte dessas dos benefícios advindos da atividade turística. (Viana, et al, 2012, p. 9). (Translation: A different way of doing tourism where tourism is a model of local development; is oriented by the principles of economic solidarity, collectivism, valorization of the local culture; and most importantly is run by the local communities in a way that the benefits of said tourism goes to them.) The differing ideas of what CBT is, what it intends to accomplish, and who can make claim to the title are illustrative of some of the inequalities present among the different scales of people involved in tourism including academics, policy-makers, tourism professionals and local members of the community.

Because there is not a consensus on the definition of CBT, and there is an overall preoccupation within tourism scholarship regarding the role of tourism in local communities, literature on CBT, community tourism and community development through tourism all

contribute to understanding the overall goals and challenges of CBT as well as who participates in it. In their edited volume, *Tourism, Planning and Community Development*, Phillips and Roberts suggest that community development through tourism is seeking to improve “conditions and quality of life for people in a place-based community by enhancing economic and social progress” (2013, p. 1). Mitchell and Reid say that a community involved in tourism would have a high level of individual participation, a democratic structure and efficient decision-making processes (2001). Jamal and Getz put forth that community participation should be “dynamic and active” (1995, p. 194).

Nevertheless, Mitchell and Reid, indicate that it is difficult for any community to reflect all of the ideal characteristics necessary to bring the kind of successes people expect through CBT (2001). Communities engaged in CBT, like any organization, are not immune to internal power structures, thus, people and their interests may not be equally represented at all times. Even in the most collective of cases, there is still the inevitable disagreement or hierarchy. As Beeton attests, “real consensus and true local control is not always possible, practical or even desired by some of the communities” involved in CBT (2006, p 50). In addition, communities engaged in CBT may find themselves still being taken advantage of or exploited, as they learn how to make demands. One major concern for communities starting out in CBT is knowing how to set prices (Garcia Lucchetti & Font, 2013). On the one hand, prices need to be high enough to recover expenses, and yet overlooking certain expenses can be a major problem for inexperienced providers of goods and services. On the other hand, scholars have argued the need for CBT products to be competitive and high-quality (Costa Mielke, 2012). Setting prices too high may deter tourists.

Beyond issues of pricing, scholars have indicated other problems as leading to the lack of

success of CBT projects. One problem is minimal access to markets (Costa Mielke, 2012; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). Low-income communities engaged in CBT often do not have access to the agencies that sell tours. Moreover, creating promotional materials to be able to attract tourists requires a budget and/or someone with sufficient technological and social media savvy to create online promotional materials. Therefore, they rely on word-of-mouth, but in cases where the communities are not only disconnected globally, but also locally, this presents a huge challenge. Another major problem is poor governance (Costa Mielke, 2012; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). Costa Mielke reports that communities involved in CBT need to have autonomy and independence, and at least some control over the operation (2012). Moreover, they need to know how to interact with the different levels of people involved in tourism from the intermediaries to the tourists themselves. Along the lines of governance, Mitchell and Reid point to the importance of internal community integration as being a major indicator of the success of CBT projects (2012). Often communities are not so unified and internal hierarchies emerge (Hamilton and Alexander, 2013). In the case of Brazil, Costa Mielke reports on minimal CBT success stories, but does suggest that paying attention to the challenges of access and governance, will lead to greater success (2012).

Despite the problems, CBT is the closest effort in tourism to really allowing the community to benefit on its own terms. Furthermore, the success of CBT is often measured according to the same standard used to evaluate mass tourism's success, when the goals of the community and the expectations of the tourists may differ. For example in cases of "ethical tourism" the idea of abandoning a CBT tour because the price is not right, or for any reason at all, raises questions about the degree to which people really are committed to the idea of ethical tourism. For that reason it is also important to identify the kind of tourist participating in CBT.

Fiorello and Bo discuss the “New Tourist” category that is emerging as the type that would participate in CBT because these are the tourists who want to be affected by, not ignorant of, the local people (2012).

Phillips and Roberts suggest that the overall interest in community development in tourism planning can be attributed to the following: changing governance structures, a greater exigency from consumers for social equity and fairness, an increase in international tourism and the prevalence of social media (2013). By linking the interest in community development to things like changing governance structures and social media that have emerged as a result of globalization, the authors are positioning community development and perhaps the entire trend of CBT as a product of globalization. It also supports the likelihood that international tourists who are interested in social equality, and especially those heavily exposed to social media, much like the millennials described as part of the cosmopolitan formation of tourists, are likely to be interested in tourism that takes the community into account.

Given the increased desires to participate in a tourism that demonstrates awareness of the host population, it is no wonder that interest in CBT, a form of tourism designed to benefit the local community is on the rise. A simple google search of “community-based tourism” returns over 82 million results. The first hits are websites that inform people what it is, how they can participate in it, or relay personal testimonies of CBT experiences. Tourism Concern, a UK-based NGO that seeks to promote ethical travel published a guidebook dedicated to finding community-based tours in 2000 (Mann). This type of organization is key, because like many other tourism fads, CBT has the potential to be yet another situation where the label is turned into a commodity to attract well-intentioned but non-discriminate tourists, ultimately not providing the communities with much management opportunities or benefits (Boonratana, 2010;



Dolezal, 2011). Yet gatekeepers to the CBT label, also bring about problems as experienced in Salvador and will be revealed in chapter four.

The emergence of CBT in Salvador and the absence of any large-scale favela-tour-type experiences there have opened the door to a particular kind of low-income tourism. This tourism merges tourists' interests in getting involved in low-income neighborhoods with low-income communities' or residents' interests in establishing their own tourism ventures. There are different projects in Salvador: some initiated by individuals, some initiated by entire communities, some in which different communities establish a community tourism network, and some in which individuals are approached by outsiders to host a tourist. These projects rely on varying degrees of outside expertise and support. They also vary in the degree to which they produce benefits for those residents involved and the surrounding community members. For this reason they are not all considered CBT, but ultimately the larger trend is low-income tourism, not CBT. In general the different projects provide opportunities to tourists whose interest in getting to know and engaging with low-income communities within the destination is growing due to increased awareness of global inequalities due to the reasons described above.

Nevertheless, Salvador's tourism infrastructure does not make it easy to connect the tourists to the low-income communities. Thus, the challenges have been numerous and the examples where the two groups do come together are very illustrative. The experiences of the low-income residents and the moments of encounter between them and the tourists will be revealed and analyzed in relationship to the degree that engagement in these tourism trends facilitates social inclusion in chapters four and six.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter will provide information about the methodological strategies that I used for this project including a description of the ethnographic methods of multi-sited research, participant observation, interviews, and evaluation of cultural texts in the form of evaluating the online materials of the organizations represented in this study; the approach I used for analyzing data; and my positionality as a researcher/tourist. In addition, sections 3.3 and 3.4 of this chapter are dedicated to introducing the organizations with which I conducted much of my research. In particular, Global Citizen Year for the cosmopolitan formation of tourists and Astro for low-income tourism provided me with numerous opportunities for observations and interviews of people in various positions within the organizations.

#### **3.1 Ethnographic Methods**

My overall methodological strategy is ethnographic in nature, which included collecting data as part of an immersive fieldwork experience in Salvador, Brazil. My field research was broken up into two trips: a month-long preliminary-data gathering trip in August and a longer stint between November and April. During the first trip, I made initial contacts and identified key groups to work with and places to collect data. Then I got started on some of my interviews and observations in order to evaluate what direction to go in for the rest of my fieldwork. The second trip allowed me to collect the bulk of my data.

##### **3.1.1 Multi-sited Ethnography**

Conceptually I employ the idea of multi-sited ethnography to my methodology even though my research was conducted solely in the city of Salvador. This is due both to how the

project was originally conceived as well as to the ultimate focus of the project on the different approaches to social inclusion. Marcus discusses the object of the multi-sited ethnography as mobile and multiply situated, whose “contours, sites and relationships are not known beforehand” (1995, p. 100). He further suggests that multi-sited research is designed around “chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography” (p. 105).

Because my project started out as following three distinct but partially overlapping phenomena related to tourism and globalization in Salvador, this description of multi-sited ethnography aptly encompasses what I was attempting to do. The three different micro-phenomena can each be observed in a delineated “site”, which overlap to some degree. This is one of the reasons it makes sense to describe my methodology as multi-sited. Rather than immersing myself in one community during field work, and observing and participating twenty-four hours a day I was frequently moving around, and needed to be flexible to go where opportunities arose.

The first micro-phenomenon is the cosmopolitan formation of tourists, conceptually defined in the background chapter. Methodologically, conducting research on this formation involved interviewing and observing tourists who fit into the formation, as well as local people who provide tourists with immersive experiences. Thus, for tourists I was looking for those engaged in activities like living with local families, learning Portuguese, or working closely with people in the destination community. Among the locals, I sought people who host tourists in their homes, teach tourists Portuguese or cultural classes like dance, or work at an organization where tourists volunteer. These criteria work because they are among the activities that fit into

the cosmopolitan formation as defined in the background chapter, and furthermore, they potentially lead to acquiring cross-cultural skills and thus global citizenship status. Language skills facilitate the navigation of the cultural setting and interactions with local people. Thus, learning to speak Portuguese shows a commitment to that goal. Living with a local family or working closely with locals potentially provides insights into the culture and opportunities to negotiate differences, thus leading to the ability to navigate diverse settings. In using these criteria, one research “site” was the tourists and locals engaged in volunteer, educational, and/or cultural tourism in Salvador.

The second micro-phenomenon that I identified as significant to my project was Salvador’s process of internationalization, largely linked to international tourism. This micro-phenomenon did not prove quite as central as the other two in the long-run, yet it still provides support to my understanding of the other two micro-phenomena and their relationship to globalization. For this micro-phenomenon I focused on Salvador’s historic center, often referred to as Pelourinho. The historic center in Salvador has experienced a complete transformation in the past twenty years, in large part because of the potential it holds for attracting international tourists (Collins, 2008; Riggs, 2008). As Maitland and Newman suggest in the introduction of *World Tourism Cities*, cities often face a process of gentrification by the global gentrifying class, a class to which tourists who are comfortable negotiating cities belong (2009). The historic center in Salvador is one such space that has faced gentrification and is likely to continue to do so. Moreover, the historic center is facing increased pressure to become more international and to accommodate international tourists. Thus, I identified the historic center as a specific site where global processes of urban tourism and global-city-making are visible and went there to conduct participant observation of both tourists and locals. Ultimately, my research conducted in

the historic center provided insights into an area of the city where many of the tourists in the cosmopolitan formation spent time and that served as the standard of comparison for many local people organizing tourism products within their low-income neighborhoods.

The third micro-phenomenon that I looked at is low-income tourism endeavors as they have become popular ways around the world to promote economic growth and they have become popular among tourists as a way to witness global economic disparity (Steinbrink, Frenzel, & Coens, 2012). For this micro-phenomenon, I looked at specific places in Salvador that had received or were preparing to receive tourists, as well as the people in those places directly connected to tourism projects. Again, this site, was actually comprised of many geographical locations, however, unlike the cosmopolitan tourist phenomenon where my “site” was a formation of people constantly moving around, the places that comprised this site, and even the people in a certain sense, were relatively stationary. As discussed in the background on Salvador, low-income communities tend to fall into a particular geography of the city. For that reason most of the places that are encompassed by this phenomenon are located in peripheral areas. This made access to those areas somewhat difficult. While conducting fieldwork, I sought rides to these places whenever possible, otherwise travel time was at least an hour. The principal locations for this phenomenon were the four communities that participate in the CBT organization that I worked with (Alto do Cabrito, Calafate, Uruguai and Plataforma). Yet, evaluating this trend also took me to a number of other neighborhoods throughout the city, such as Ribeira, Bonfim, Beirut and Pernambués. About half the time, I visited the communities on my own, while the other half of the time I was accompanied by tourists, or a research contact who facilitated my entree into the communities.

The sites that I have identified based on the different aspects of globalization I am

exploring are separate, but overlapping sites. For Marcus, the sites in multi-sited work are connected (1995), so it makes sense to observe some overlap. In my case, the cosmopolitan tourists of the first site, went to the second site and also visited places that comprise my third site. The third site is linked to the second site insofar as the people who live in places of the third site are sometimes those who had been displaced from the second site or go to the second site for employment or entertainment. They also sometimes engaged with tourists who made-up the first site.

By identifying the different branches that seem to be converging, I, as the researcher am setting the agenda rather than claiming to be using an “objective” indication for my site (Marcus 1998). That said, as with any ethnographic study, there is no formula or amount of planning that does not get disrupted in the field (Sen, 2004). My research results illustrate how some of the anticipated connections were either stronger or weaker than expected. Ultimately, my data indicated that the topic of social inclusion within the phenomenon of tourism and globalization was highly relevant both to the tourists in the cosmopolitan formation as well as the locals engaged in low-income tourism planning. Because these two groups’ desires for social inclusion differ, and have never been looked at simultaneously, this is further evidence of the researcher setting the agenda and drawing the boundaries around the phenomena to be explored.

Certain ways of conceiving of social phenomena and processes have contributed to how I designed and am carrying out my project. Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of the assemblage—multiple elements that come together in the formation of a larger phenomenon is one example (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). The assemblage is symbolized by a rhizome shape, meaning that there are lots of strands that come together with no clear beginning and end (Deleuze, 1993). Marcus and Saka discuss Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of the assemblage saying that social

phenomena are so massive and elusive, in order to understand and study them, there needs to be an interpreter that identifies and isolates the entryways or elements that give structure and shape to them (2006). Thus, researchers need to identify the components of the part of the phenomenon they are exploring. Globalization is one such elusive, shapeless, social phenomenon and looking at the simultaneous quests for social inclusion of two very different groups, whose convergence reflects global trends is a way to understand the impacts of globalization. To do this required clearly defining these two groups as a means to give shape to them. That was initially done in the process of identifying the three micro-phenomena or strands that served as the initial entryways that could provide insight into the larger force.

Emirbayer's concept of relational sociology is another inspiration for this research (1997). Relationality, at its most basic, suggests that all things are interconnected. But beyond this, things gain their features in relation to other things. In sociological and ethnographic research then, rather than isolating a social group as the starting point for the research, one should look at certain connections and intersections as the starting point. In my project, this is particularly evident as I connect categories of tourism through both the cosmopolitan tourist formation and the low-income tourism phenomenon that are normally separate. Then, by putting the cosmopolitan tourists and low-income tourism patterns in conversation with each other over the issue of social inclusion, I am further looking at the intersections.

While not traditional ethnography, there is a precedence for conducting multi-sited ethnography and using other approaches to ethnography that take mobility into account. Clifford highlights how culture(s) move and advocates constructing ethnographic projects that can reflect that, instead of privileging "relations of dwelling over relations of travel" (1992, p 99). Gupta and Ferguson discuss how the notion of "the field" in anthropology needs to be reevaluated in

the face of fractured “cultural areas” (1997). Ortner advocates reevaluating the spatial practices of conducting fieldwork in her study of how a sense of community is maintained over time and space for her 1958 graduating class (1997). Stoller points to the need to be creative and imaginative in research so as to match the creativity that exists in transnational spaces with people taking a variety of approaches to navigate complex situations (1997). Ulf Hannerz discusses his experience of doing multi-sited work among foreign media correspondents and outlines some of the differences between multi-sited work and traditional ethnography (2003). Thus, given that I am looking at the intersections of different patterns as well as people who are on the move, it makes sense for me to employ this multi-sited approach. The details of my methodology for engaging in the multi-sited approach, including participant observation and interviews, are specified in the next two sub-sections.

### **3.1.2 Participant Observation**

Wolcott refers to participant observation as the “residual fieldwork category” that encompasses everything outside of interviewing (1995, p 102); thus, it ends up being a substantial component of fieldwork. In my case, because I fit into the cosmopolitan tourist trend, on some level, I was also a subject of my research. Therefore, I was observing others, but also observing myself even as I was just going about daily living activities in Salvador to supplement data on what cosmopolitan tourists may be experiencing in Salvador. For that reason my participant observation filled a significant amount of time: I was constantly having experiences as a cosmopolitan tourist that could provide insights into the trend. I took my participant observations as a tourist a step further when I enrolled in a language school in Salvador. There, I was able to experience the life of a tourist going to Salvador to study Portuguese with the daily class schedule and the opportunity to participate in the extracurricular activities such as guided



tours, dance/*capoeira* class, intercultural exchanges, a *Carnaval Bloco* (a parade group), and a visit to a *Candomblé* house. In addition I was able to socialize with other students outside of the activities the school programmed in order to gain more insight into their behaviors, feelings and experiences.

My participant observation also took on formal dimensions when I attended meetings regarding tourism that took place on various occasions in the city. The state government holds a tri-annual State Tourism Forum that I attended twice in the city's Convention Center, which is located in a middle-class residential neighborhood. There was also a meeting for people in management positions in the tourism industry that I attended and a meeting that an advertising agency had coordinated to discuss international tourism possibilities in Salvador. The latter of these was held in the new Event Center in Salvador's largest mall, Shopping Salvador, located in an upper-class neighborhood. I attended several meetings focused on rural and community-based tourism. I also attended meetings regarding tourism development in specific low-income neighborhoods.

Most significantly I participated in monthly training meetings with the Community-based Tourism NGO, Astro, as well as other gatherings that this organization held. In the case of Astro, which I will explain in more depth in section 3.4, my participant observation was heavy on the side of participation. In one meeting I gave a presentation to the community representatives about the tourist perspective of CBT. At that meeting I provided each community with a set of questions for them to identify the value of their communities for tourism. Their answers, which they provided at a later meeting, yielded an additional layer of data for my project as well as allowing them to articulate what it is that they want tourists to know about their communities. I also participated in the meetings by providing insights and

opinions, generally from a tourist perspective. In a meeting that Astro held with a tour agent who had led several tours to the Astro communities during my field research and who was looking to do it again, I took an active role in providing some insight to the agent about some of the problems that were reported during the previous year's tour. I also attended some of the tours the communities offered to tourists and I participated in the tours that were a component of the monthly meetings.

I also observed while accompanying a couple of tourists to their volunteer site at a music-oriented community center. There I was observing both their volunteer engagement as well as interactions stemming from a visit by a group of Dutch high schoolers to the center at that time. I was also invited to join several groups of tourists during social outings during which I observed the groups.

Occasionally my participant observation was independent enough that I could record notes as I was experiencing or observing. However, usually that was not the case. Thus, I would spend a portion of each day recording activities either in a notebook or on my computer, of events, responses, feelings, conversations and analyses of myself and others. Sometimes I brought my camera with me and was able to take pictures of things I was observing. Often I did not bring my camera, though, since I preferred to go outside empty-handed, especially at night.

Data collected via participant observation was thematically analyzed in several stages. The first stage was a preliminary reading. For my hand-written notes, the reading occurred as I transcribed them to a word processing document. Data was broken down into an event-by-event or day-by-day basis, depending on how it was written up. The second stage was a stage of open coding, where I read my field notes and began to identify themes, ideas, issues, people, or items that emerged (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995; Berg, 2007). As I read, I considered the following

questions: 1.) what are people doing? 2.) what are they trying to accomplish? 3.) how are they trying to accomplish such thing(s)? 4.) how are they talking about what is going on? 5.) what assumptions are they making? 6.) what do I see going on? 7.) what did I learn from my notes? 8.) How is this situation similar or different from another observed situation? (Emerson, et al., 1995). During stage two, I took notes on the themes, ideas, issues, etc. that were emerging. In stage three, I engaged in focused coding, doing a close reading of both the data and my notes taken in stage two. Then, I sorted the data by like topics and sub-topics (Emerson, et al., 1995). It was during stage three coding when I combined my participant observation data with data collected in interviews.

### **3.1.3 Interviews**

The second component of my ethnographic fieldwork consisted of conducting interviews. The formal interviews I conducted were semi-structured. The semi-structured format requires having certain questions planned in advance for each interviewee, but allows for deviation from the questions and topics. This format was ideal because there was a consistency in the topics that were discussed, but there was a lot of space to be flexible depending on the interest of both myself and the interviewee in what we discussed. Question topics generally fit into three categories: participants' background, including decisions to travel to Salvador or get involved in tourism (for locals); experiences in Salvador or with tourists; questions about identity, community and citizenship. Sample questions are included in the Appendix. During fieldwork interviews I always carried a map of the city. For tourists, I had them refer to the map when describing where they were staying, places they frequently went to, and places they had visited. The map was handy during interviews with locals for a variety of reasons. Sometimes they pointed out new places to me, other times they clarified places they were talking about.

My interview participants during fieldwork can roughly be broken down into three categories. The first category are the tourists that I identified as potentially belonging to the cosmopolitan tourist formation, which as stated earlier was determined by Portuguese language learning and immersion activities. In terms of who counted as a tourist, I considered any visitor staying between one and 365 days to be a tourist. When consulting with the head of research at SETUR (the Secretary of Tourism of Bahia), she confirmed that SETUR's definition of a tourist also follows the same guideline, which is established by the United Nation's World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). This was particularly affirming because when soliciting access to a group of study abroad students whom I referred to as "immersion tourists," I was brushed off by their program coordinator who said they were not immersion tourists but experiential learners. His comment was not unusual, as many people who fit into the cosmopolitan tourism trend engage in significantly alternative behaviors, and tended to disassociate from the term tourist and any terms that would put them in a category of already questionable tourism practices. For example, one program had its tourists engage in "apprenticeships" in local NGOs, rather than volunteering. I will delve into some of these terminology distinctions and their significance later on, but for now, it is important to emphasize that even when the terms were slightly different, like apprentice instead of volunteer, I saw them as part of the cosmopolitan tourism trend. In fact this provided even further evidence of cosmopolitan aspirations due to the tendency towards innovation and distinction in the cosmopolitan trend.

The second group that I interviewed were Brazilians who provided or continue to provide services to tourists in capacities such as home-stays, tours, and Portuguese language classes. For the most part they were providing services to tourists that fit into the cosmopolitan tourism trend. In some cases, I selected them because of their participation in tourism to low-income areas,

which as mentioned previously, has a tendency to attract the cosmopolitan tourists, but not exclusively. Thus, those interviewed were providing insights into either the cosmopolitan tourist trend, the low-income tourism trend and sometimes both.

The third group of people are those who I am putting in the “official” category. These are the people who I sought to speak on behalf of their respective organizations. They include program coordinators, an NGO founder, a tourism consultant, and two members of the government, one at the state level and one at the city level. All of them except the NGO founder are Brazilian. The two program coordinators are actually dual U.S.-Brazilian citizens.

In total, I interviewed forty-five people and did four follow-up interviews during fieldwork. I interviewed six “official” people, twenty-one locals providing services to tourists and eighteen tourists. All four follow-up interviews were of tourists. The interviews varied in length, one as short as fifteen minutes and another as long as three hours. Some of the shortest interviews were usually interrupted by something, otherwise, they would have gone on longer. On average they lasted between forty-five minutes to an hour and twenty minutes. Interviews were conducted in English, Portuguese and Spanish. All of the interviews of locals providing services to tourists, with the exception of one, were conducted in Portuguese. It seemed appropriate to conduct the interviews in the language in which the participants were most comfortable, although in some cases, English would have been an option due to language ability. In the one case where English was spoken, the participant wanted to practice her English. Three of the official interviews were conducted in English and three in Portuguese. In all three of the English cases, the participants were completely bilingual having lived in both Brazil and English-speaking countries for large portions of their lives. The interviews with tourists were frequently conducted in English, although three were conducted in Portuguese and one in Spanish. Those conducted in

Portuguese were done as a means to practice Portuguese. The one conducted in Spanish was due to the participants' preference, having recently arrived to Salvador with no prior Portuguese experience and feeling that her Spanish was more advanced than her English.

Language was definitely a factor in the interviews. While my Portuguese is at a high level due to several years of university-level Portuguese language classes as well as several six-week long experiences in-country to hone my language skills, it is not native-level. Lingual nuances that I can easily apply in English and even in Spanish, I do not do in Portuguese. In general, I spoke less during Portuguese-language interviews and interjected less often. While perhaps this led to fewer things expressed during an interview, it also allowed the interviewee to guide the interview more.

Beyond semi-structured interviews, I also engaged in a number of informal or conversational interviews while in the field. During periods of purposeful participant observation, I held informal interviews with random people I ran into, both tourists and locals. Usually those conversations were short and relatively superficial. I often took those conversations lightly based on the context of our interaction. For example, if the person was a vendor trying to sell something, the conversation kept turning towards the tour or souvenir being offered, rather than the questions I asked, so often the conversations were not overwhelmingly productive (although they did shed light on other noteworthy things such as the types of people who frequent certain places and for what reasons). The conversations I had with people with whom I had developed a rapport, were more fruitful. Some of the conversations were with people with whom I spent a significant amount of time and had already interviewed, but different situations led to interesting follow-up questions. Other times, it was with people, who just did not have the time or interest to do a formal interview, but were interested enough in my research

to answer questions. These conversations contributed to my data, and I included parts of our conversations in my daily research write-ups as part of my field notes.

My analysis of interview data followed a very similar process as the analysis of my participant observation field notes; however, in addition to a qualitative thematic analysis, I analyzed the narrative components of the interviews. This means that beyond coding for themes and ideas, I also evaluated how participants responded to questions, what they did and did not talk about, how they framed their positions and that of others, and what my role was to my participants, with the understanding that all social interactions elicit certain positionalities between or among the interacting subjects (Riessman, 2003).

Again I conducted three stages of analysis before triangulating the data collected. The preliminary reading stage occurred as I transcribed the interviews. During the second, open-coding stage, again I looked for ideas, themes, issues, people, items and words, as well as what I mentioned above regarding narrative analysis. I took notes on the different patterns I was observing. Then during the third stage of coding, I did a close reading of both the data and the notes taken in stage two. Then I grouped the data into like-categories addressing similar topics and sub-topics. At that point I also combined this data with the data from the participant observation.

#### **3.1.4 Cultural Text Analysis**

A supplemental component of my research also included evaluating cultural texts in the form of online materials produced by the different organizations relevant to this project. This includes the different tourism organizations that send cosmopolitan-aspiring tourists (mentioned further along in this chapter), Astro, the Brazilian Ministry of Tourism, SALTUR and BahiaTursa (the city and state tourism organizations representing Salvador). Statements

published on the websites of these organizations served to provide insight into the missions and goals in relationship to social inclusion of the organizations. My analysis assumes that the statements on the websites are official positions and that those positions have an influence on people involved in or affected by the organization. In other words, the tourists are influenced by the position of the organizations they participate in. Astro and other low-income communities as well as tourists in some cases, are influenced by the positions of the governmental organizations.

Since this was merely a supplemental aspect of my research, the analysis of the websites solely focused on elements relevant to social inclusion rather than a systematic evaluation of the entirety of the organizations' websites. The relevant elements have been brought into the overall presentation of data and analysis in this paper and are cited and recognized as coming from an organization's website.

### **3.2 Researcher Positionality**

An important consideration for any ethnographic researcher is his or her positionality in relationship to research participants. One strategy that I used to address my position relative to both tourists and hosts was to avoid engaging in a practice that I call "researcher exceptionalism". Researcher exceptionalism is something particularly relevant to tourism because so many of the people who study tourism are likely to have also had the position of being a tourist at some point, if not at the time of research. Not all researchers are looking at a phenomenon that they can locate themselves in, but tourism scholars, for the most part, can. Thus, I think it is important to position oneself properly within the phenomenon. Researcher exceptionalism is when the researcher seems to have all the answers about the best way to engage in tourism and particularly with the host community. This can have an effect while doing research, especially fieldwork.



Researcher exceptionalism follows a long line of people trying to disassociate themselves from tourists (MacCannell, 1976; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Tusia, 2012). MacCannell put forth that people did not want to be labeled as a naïve and superficial mass tourist, but now it is increasingly about claiming a more moral position in one's tourism activities in the face of the many ethical concerns regarding tourism (Frenzel, 2012). However, most of us who research tourism are likely to have been tourists at one point, even if we do not consider ourselves tourists during the research. Moreover, it is unlikely that any of us have figured out the perfect way to be a tourist. Thus, claiming a distance or superiority for things that do not differ that much from any other tourism activity seems like a way of scapegoating rather than getting at some of the deeper concerns that we too, are a part of.

In order to avoid practicing researcher exceptionalism while conducting fieldwork, I claimed my role and identity as a tourist and a researcher in Salvador. To not claim this would have been to deny the positions of everyone, including locals, involved in the study, not just obscure the relationship between researcher and tourists. Thus, if the issue is trying to avoid the discomfort of having privilege and to show concern for the less-privileged, to obscure my position would not have accomplished that. My strategies to avoid assuming an exceptional role with the tourists was to tell my own experiences engaging in activities similar to what they were doing, so as not to suggest I considered my position as superior. Generally, I waited until after they had shared ideas to comment on similar experiences. When discussing things that they had not yet thought of, I presented my ideas as something I had been considering for a long time. By doing this, I attempted to show that I consider them capable of coming up with similar thoughts, and thus mine are not so exceptional. While interviewing locals, I also referred to myself as a tourist as well as a researcher, and they did too. In addition, I always allowed my participants,

both tourists and locals to ask questions about me at any point during interviews. The sometimes uncomfortable and personal questions, gave me a sense of being on the other side of the audio recorder.

This practice follows my understanding that the meaning of knowledge is not absolute, but rather is constructed and influenced by infinite factors, of which, I as a researcher, attempt to be aware of. However, there is no way to be aware of all of the factors and the ones I am aware of are influenced by my own position, experiences and knowledge. Nevertheless, my understanding and awareness that these factors exist, even if I do not know what they all are, still has an impact on my observations and interpretation of my data. In this way, both my participants and I construct knowledge together.

This is particularly salient in regard to my interpretation of what constitutes social inclusion. While the concept has been thoroughly reviewed in my literature review, ultimately my analysis comes down to what my research participants express and my interpretation of what they are saying. On a basic level, I am looking at whether there is a mutual sense of acceptance and belonging between the person seeking inclusion and the person including. Those feelings are not always evident. Moreover, especially in the case of the low-income locals, there are some criteria for social inclusion that go beyond feelings, like financial benefits. Thus, in those cases I also discuss participants' comments and my observations and interpretation of those criteria established in chapter four.

My overall perspective in this paper follows a cultural studies approach, which is an approach that is relatively open and varied (Giardina & Newman, 2011). According to Denzin and Lincoln, cultural studies is "self-reflective, critical, interdisciplinary, conversant with high theory, and focused on the global and the local" (2011, p. 93). This research incorporates these

elements; and moreover, it focuses on questions of “community, identity, agency and change,” which Grossberg and Pollock articulate as fundamental questions to cultural studies (1998, p. 114). By incorporating an evaluation of cultural texts via organizations’ websites and considering their effects on people’s understandings and expectations for social inclusion, this study follows the essence of cultural studies insofar as it is concerned with cultural texts, lived experience and the relationship between the two (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Consistent with a cultural studies perspective, my ontology can be described as relativistic, my epistemology as transactional and my methodology as dialogic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), much of which is evident in the above descriptions of my methodology and positionality.

### **3.3 Cosmopolitan Tourist Formation**

My strategies for finding tourists to interview in the cosmopolitan tourist formation, varied. In some cases I knew of language schools or programs that coordinated this type of tourism and I contacted them for access. Many of them were not cooperative, but occasionally some were. Besides going through program administrators, I would also stop people on the street or in cafes, who looked like they could fit the cosmopolitan tourist profile, and after verifying if they did, I asked if they would be willing to be interviewed. At the interview, I requested to be put in contact with anyone else they may know who fits the profile. Between these types of approaches and the cooperative organizations, I interviewed tourists from six different organizations: Pro-World, SIT, CIEE, AIESEC, Dialogo, and Global Citizen Year. I also hung out with tourists from ACBEU, but did not conduct any formal interviews due to the fact that by the time I had met them, they were in their very last days in Salvador. Of these different programs, Global Citizen Year proved to be the most central to my research on the cosmopolitan tourist trend. For that reason, the next sub-section does a thorough introduction of this program and there is a

whole data chapter dedicated to the experiences of the tourists in that organization. However, prior to introducing Global Citizen Year, it is worthwhile to also provide a little background on each of the other organizations.

### **3.3.1 Tourist Organizations**

Pro-World is primarily a volunteer tourism organization that gives tourists the opportunity to volunteer at an NGO while also taking Portuguese classes. It primarily attracts U.S. citizens, and is not connected with any universities in the U.S. However, tourists can get university credit for participating in the program if they arrange that with their schools. The two tourists from this program who I interviewed were both students, one at the undergraduate level and the other at the Master's level. The undergrad was getting college credit, the Master's student was looking for insights for writing his Master's thesis. I also interviewed the program coordinator who told me that the tourists stay with host families in the upper city, and the homes must have hot water for showers. The tourists are assigned to volunteer in organizations in Salvador. Since conducting this research, Pro-World no longer operates in Salvador based on the program's website.

SIT is a study abroad program originating in the U.S. It attracts primarily U.S. citizens. The program consists of spending 45 days in Salvador living with a host family and learning about a range of issues related to public health and policy. Thus, the tourists have Portuguese classes in the morning and then field trips or lectures in the afternoon. They live with host families in the upper city during this time. After those 45 days, the tourists are sent to rural areas in the state of Bahia to engage in a service project for another 45 days. After that, some tourists choose to return to Salvador to spend more time, as was the case for the tourist from the program I interviewed.

CIEE is a study abroad program originating in the U.S. It also attracts primarily U.S. citizens, although one of the tourists I interviewed from the program was not. CIEE coordinates with a local university for the tourists to take classes. Typically it works with the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), but since UFBA was on strike when the tourists first arrived, the tourists I interviewed were taking classes at the Catholic University in Salvador. An optional part of the program is to get assigned to a volunteer placement. All three tourists that I interviewed from this program chose that option and volunteered in addition to taking Portuguese language and content classes. These tourists also stayed with families in middle class neighborhoods in the upper city.

AIESEC is a program that provides tourists with internship experience. The tourists pay a minimal amount and live with host families connected to the program. They do not get formal Portuguese language instruction, but the idea is that their hosts will help them with the language. AIESEC is an international program that attracts tourists from all over the world. AIESEC does not give formal credit, but tourists can participate in this program to satisfy internship requirements if they coordinate this. I interviewed one tourist from AIESEC who was doing the program as an internship requirement for his undergraduate degree in Sweden.

Dialogo is a Salvador-based language school that attracts tourists from all over the world. There is noticeable diversity in the tourists who attend this school, although the majority of the students are in their twenties or early thirties. Dialogo offers a variety of extra-curricular activities such as capoeira and dance class, excursions to nearby islands, and *candomblé* houses, and also coordinates volunteering as long as the person is staying for over a month. Dialogo provides different lodging arrangements, the most common being a homestay with a middle class family near the school. Other options include staying in a Dialogo-owned apartment with other

tourists or staying at a nearby hotel. I interviewed five tourists who attended Dialogo.

ACBEU is the Portuguese-English language school that provides Portuguese classes to tourists and English classes to locals. Many U.S. universities coordinate their study abroad programs through ACBEU so tourists take language classes in the morning and content classes in the afternoon. ACBEU coordinates homestays for the tourists in upper-middle class homes near the school. Homes must be equipped with internet and the tourist will receive three meals a day and laundry service.

### **3.3.2 Global Citizen Year**

For the cosmopolitan tourism trend, I found Global Citizen Year, a U.S.-based gap year program to provide the most comprehensive data. First of all, this is because Global Citizen Year so perfectly encapsulates my definition of the cosmopolitan tourism trend. The name alone precisely captures the phenomenon being explored, thus, it really allows for a complete understanding. In addition, the program was very cooperative with me. The U.S.-based staff, put me in touch with the Salvador-based staff. The Salvador program coordinator, put me in touch with all the Salvador-based tourists and agreed to an interview with me. Five out of the six Salvador-based tourists agreed to interviews and three of them wanted to do follow-ups. In addition, a number of them invited me to social gatherings and their apprenticeship sites, thus, I spent time with these tourists in a variety of settings throughout their time in Salvador. Global Citizen Year is in its seventh year of operation after sending a pilot cohort in the fall of 2009 and then adding the destination of Bahia, Brazil the next year. GCY currently operates in four countries: Ecuador, Senegal, Brazil, and India having added India in the period since I conducted my research. Also in the year immediately following my research, the Brazil location moved from Bahia to a southern state in Brazil.

GCY perfectly falls into the trend of needing to come up with more innovative travel opportunities for young people at even earlier ages than what they commonly participate in now, at least in the United States. As an article about GCY in the Christian Science Monitor puts it, GCY's goal is to "provide idealistic young people with an experience that will help them become a new generation of leaders with an ethic of service" (Jones, 2011, p. 1). This is done by selling the idea that by engaging in such activities the youth will be more prepared for the global world and effectively become "Global Citizens". Although gap years are common for youth in Western Europe and Australia, it is relatively uncommon for recent high school graduates in the United States, with the exception of trips to Israel for Jewish Americans, and the occasional student who participates in ASF or Rotary exchanges after completing high school. GCY is not only attempting to fill that gap, but proclaiming to fill it better than other gap-year programs. It claims to be an all around better program for fostering the right attitudes and skills to succeed in a globalized world than traditional study abroad programs in colleges and universities. It does this through a very rigorous model that combines immersion experience, language-learning, apprenticeship placements, and periodic training/coaching sessions during approximately eight months abroad. In addition, the program begins and ends with week-long, pre- and post-travel orientations in San Francisco for the participants (who are referred to as fellows) from all three country destinations.

Through these different strategies, GCY does provide a unique opportunity. First, it institutionalizes individualized mentoring sessions, allowing the tourists to get feedback on their experiences, attitudes, behaviors, struggles, etc. Such an experience is often absent from typical study abroad programs that generally push students to be more independent, although are likely to be available for such counseling when necessity arises. Second, it combines some of the big

components of skill-generating travel abroad programs: language classes, homestay immersions, volunteering in the local community, classwork that covers history, politics, economics and social issues of the destination. And, it incorporates these elements in a way that sets it apart from the average program. For example, volunteering is not referred to as volunteering. It is an apprenticeship. Classes are really during training seminars that take place during the month-long in-country orientation and on three separate occasions throughout the time abroad in different remote locations. Homestays are ideally located in different areas of the city/state, so that each tourist is removed from the others. Language classes are bi-weekly, and in Salvador are held at a bookstore in the mall, allowing plenty of opportunity for practical language training at apprenticeships and with homestay families. In addition, GCY rejects the commonly accepted term “gap year” to describe this experience that interrupts high school graduates from their first year of college. Rather, this year-long break from the classroom is referred to as a “bridge year” by GCY in order to better convey “an intentional transition from one life stage to the next” according to the “About us” section on the GCY website. Moreover, GCY wants to distinguish itself from typical “gap years” that are associated with privileged youth who are off-track and “fall into a gap”, suggesting that the bridge metaphor is more appropriate because it insinuates continuity which is what the program claims to provide. There is no doubt that the aim of this program is to be innovative and unique at a time when international travel programs are a fad, yet all too many of them follow the same classic models. GCY is an example of the constant need to make improvements to international travel programming in order to attract more participants and before anyone else does.

In addition, to establishing its uniqueness, GCY is also very dedicated to fostering a global citizen ideology among its participants and across the world. It does this through a variety of



means. First, there are a number of requirements that participants must complete. The first requirement is fundraising \$2500 that should be done prior to the initial orientation, but if it is not, participants are expected to continue to fundraise while abroad. Fundraising, is the start of each participant's responsibility to advocate for the GCY ideology. While abroad, the participants—now tourists, have a number of social media requirements including posting five blogs and two video blogs about their experiences. These blogs are publicly accessible on the GCY website or via Youtube, and the public can sign up to “follow” any of the tourist's blogs. The blogs are first submitted to the local program personnel for approval before they are uploaded to the website. Tourists are given requirements about topics or attitudes that are not acceptable, not only for the blogs, but to share at anytime about their host country or the program, and blogs will be censored if they do include any of those things. There is a requirement that the tourists engage in a capstone project that contributes something to the local community. These requirements along with tourists' experiences in their home-stays and apprenticeships, their language progress, among other things are graded by the local program coordinators on a five-point scale. The tourists are given mid-way “feedback” cards, and then evaluated again at the end of the program. Only those with a certain average can “graduate” from the program and get to be considered GCY alumni. However, that status is also contingent on the completion of the final requirement which is to make six public presentations about GCY once they return to their home communities, including one at their high schools. Thus, GCY builds-in the promulgation of its ideology by not only providing opportunities for participants to promote it, but by requiring them to do so and evaluating them based on how well they do it.

The mind behind GCY is a Harvard Business School graduate and lifelong supporter of international, hands-on learning experiences as indicated by the GCY website. While a student

at Harvard she proposed her plan for a “bridge year” experience based off her own experience doing an independent year abroad in Brazil when she was an undergraduate (Jones, 2011). Disappointed that such a program was not in place when she needed it, she set-out to correct that. Her proposal won first place in the Pitch for Change Competition in 2008 and she immediately began turning the proposed plan into reality (Jones, 2011). She has found investors in the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation and The Mind Trust among others (GCY website). In addition, GCY has a partnership with several organizations including the Nike Girl Effect Challenge.

Through the philanthropic investments as well as the fundraising done by the program participants, the non-profit organization has been able to provide opportunities for youth from a wide variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. Over 80% of the fellows receive need-based financial aid and approximately 30% are fully funded (GCY website). Although the annual tuition is currently \$32,500 (It was \$28,000 for the participants I interviewed), very few fellows are expected to pay that full rate, with their ultimate financial contribution determined by need (GCY website). Beyond socioeconomic diversity, the program seeks a well-rounded and diverse cohort made-up of promising young leaders. A quick perusal on the GCY website indicates that many of the fellows have gone on to study at elite colleges and universities.

I learned about GCY at the beginning of my second field research trip to Salvador. In a quick e-mail update about any new goings-on in the Astro (see next section) communities with which I had previously connected, one of my local contacts informed me that there were two young U.S. students living in the Uruguai neighborhood as part of GCY. I quickly looked into the program and attempted contact via several methods before reaching out to the U.S.-based office who put me in touch with the local program coordinator. From there, I was given introduction to the Salvador-based fellows via e-mail. In the year of my research, GCY Brazil

was operating exclusively in the state of Bahia. There were a total of fifteen fellows in Brazil, with six placed in the city of Salvador. I was in contact with and met all six, although I only interviewed five of them, and conducted follow-up interviews with three of those. Of the six Salvador fellows, there were four women and two men. One of the men was the one who never responded about scheduling an interview. My interviews with the fellows were by far the longest interviews I conducted, averaging around two hours, and often our conversations continued long after the audio recorder had been turned off. I also interviewed the program coordinator responsible for working with and coaching the Salvador fellows. In addition to interviews, I accompanied two of the fellows to their apprenticeship/global capstone site. I also ran into several fellows both accidentally and purposefully at music venues on weekends in the city and I met up with four of them on their second-to-last night in the city for a goodbye. The quantity of data that I obtained from the participants and staff of this program, as well as some of its unique qualities, allow for greater depth in understanding the cosmopolitan tourist formation, as well as its overlap with low-income tourism. For that reason, an entire data chapter is dedicated to the narratives and analysis of the GCY participants.

### **3.4 Locals**

The locals I interviewed were a more varied group in many ways than the tourists. I was looking for people involved in tourism to low-income neighborhoods, and people who interacted closely with cosmopolitan tourists like members of host families, language instructors or staff at volunteer sites. I was also interested in hearing from locals who work in official capacities in tourism, either for the government or other organizations. Throughout my fieldwork, I did succeed in interviewing a wide range of locals. One language instructor who I interviewed put me in contact with several host families. Some of the tourists I interviewed also put me in

contact with families. My attendance at tourism meetings allowed me to meet and then interview government officials and tourism consultants. I found out about organizations that received volunteers from tourists and would go directly to those places asking for interviews. My knowledge of tourism to low-income neighborhoods came primarily from my contacts: a professor at the State University of Bahia and a tourism consultant/graduate student. In addition, one man coordinating tourism to his low-income neighborhood approached me when I was conducting participant observation in the historic center. As with the cosmopolitan formation of tourists, one organization in particular proved to be most enriching for data collection on the low-income tourism trend. That organization is an NGO that is working to establish community-based tourism in four neighborhoods in Salvador. The next subsection introduces this organization in anticipation of the next chapter, where much of the data is based on interviews from and observations of this organization.

### **3.4.1 Astro-**

Within the low-income tourism trend, the organization that I had most frequent contact with was the NGO Astro. Astro, as I was introduced to it, is an NGO that connects four communities in Salvador to support them in their endeavor to build their community-based tourism (CBT). The four communities are Alto do Cabrito, Calafate, Plataforma and Uruguai. Astro, however, did not start out dedicated to CBT. Astro is a joint Brazilian-UK NGO that began as a charity organization intended to support a fundraising effort in São Paulo to start a community bakery in the mid 1990's. The founder, a UK citizen named Natalie, started the group in the UK to support the bakery campaign and then went to Brazil to represent the organization. There, she realized that while she was passionate about raising the funds for the community effort, she was more passionate about the intercultural connection between the UK

and the local Brazilian community. She felt that while the funds were necessary, money does not do much without also raising awareness. Thus began her efforts towards turning the organization into a youth arts and community exchange project.

In 1997, Astro was formally established with the aim of developing intercultural understanding and was active in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Fortaleza as well as in the UK. Efforts were primarily concentrated on giving workshops to teach different artistic practices. For example, four capoeira instructors from Salvador went to the UK to put on capoeira workshops for youth. In Brazil, Astro put on a series of workshops as part of a project to have different communities do a play about sex tourism and the exploitation of young people in tourism. Volunteers from Europe came to help with those workshops. Through the workshops, Natalie, who had remained in Brazil and moved to Salvador during this time, made contact with three of the four communities currently active in Astro.

After several years of functioning primarily as an organization dedicated to arts and cultural exchange, Astro started to realize that it was necessary to think about strategies to generate income. The organization was still registered as a charity in the UK, but staff in the UK was always minimal, and once organizations between the two countries made their initial contacts, the NGO stepped back, and was no longer really functioning. In Brazil, however, there were still a lot of needs that Astro could be assisting with. In order to generate funds, they did start charging their European volunteers for having coordinated their volunteer opportunity, however it was a minimal fee. Around 2007, Astro began exploring the idea of tourism. There were approximately eight communities involved in Astro at the time, and three of them were interested in the community-based tourism project. Later on, the fourth community joined the effort.

Since 2007, Astro has been committed to developing community-based tourism in a collaborative way among the four communities. Astro holds periodic meetings in which representatives from the four communities meet along with Natalie. It was designed so that there would be adult and youth representatives from each community. Their meetings served to make logistical plans as well as to offer training on how to run tourism. Astro has had different sponsors over the years that support different aspects of the CBT project. Representatives were expected to go back to their communities to discuss plans with their own community collectives. Each community is autonomous and can decide the degree to which they want to participate. Astro primarily serves as a tool for getting organized, getting capacitated, and for recruiting the tour groups to the communities. Because it is a collective organization, each community takes a turn hosting a tour group when the opportunity arises, however, they can deny to host, if it is not convenient for the community.

During my time in Salvador, Astro was holding a grant that allowed for monthly capacitation meetings for representatives of the four communities. The funding provided the host community with a budget to provide refreshments during the meetings. The meetings, were run by a volunteer, Roberto, who was one of my main research contacts (the tourism consultant/graduate student). Natalie was not in Brazil for most of my time conducting fieldwork. The death of both of her parents required her to be in the UK. She returned in late February when I had about seven weeks left. Both the grant and Natalie's absence provide context to what was going on with Astro during the period in which I was collecting data. The next chapter on social inclusion of locals incorporates much of that data.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **SOCIAL INCLUSION OF LOW-INCOME LOCALS**

Social inclusion for locals tends to be oriented around the idea of bringing people into the fabric of the city and providing them with a fuller citizenship experience. This means that they should have access to economic opportunities and feel as though their regular existence contributes to the larger society. Scholars evaluating the degree of social inclusion achieved for locals through tourism highlight improved financial conditions, valorization of culture and traditions, access to the city's resources and empowerment of the people as criteria for accomplishing social inclusion (Arellano 2011; Rendon and Bidwell, 2015; Cabezas, 2008; Williams, 2014; Berg, 2005, Brooks, 2008; Mordue, 2005). These improvements primarily relate to the local level: bettering the situation for marginalized people in relationship to others within their cities. Tourism into low-income communities can potentially bring about those improvements in a variety of ways. First of all, tourists' paying to take a tour of a neighborhood and potentially making other purchases there bring economic benefits to the neighborhood thus improving financial conditions. Second, tourists' interest in the neighborhood and its goings on shows a validation of the residents' regular lives, their culture and traditions. Third, as residents of the neighborhood are given the opportunity to represent themselves to tourists and in promotional material and to take on the point positions in the tours, they are potentially being empowered. Fourth, as tourists' interest in visiting the neighborhoods grows, more investment will need to be made in infrastructure thus improving the conditions of the neighborhood more generally and giving these neighborhoods more access to the overall resources of the city. Improving the conditions and making them more similar to other neighborhoods is a way of

achieving inclusion.

Clearly, not all of these steps come to pass in each low-income tourism endeavor. In fact, often low-income tourism endeavors do not bring many benefits to local communities as indicated in section 2.5.1 of the literature review. However, community-based tourism or pro-poor tourism endeavors have a stronger chance of accomplishing these criteria (Wearing & Darcy, 2011; Mitchell & Reid, 2001). Salvador has a number of different low-income tourism projects that originate in and/or are run by residents of the low-income neighborhoods. In fact, all of the projects discussed in this chapter follow that model. The experiences of the people and organizations engaging in those projects can reveal the potential for achieving social inclusion through the indicated criteria. Their degree of success provides insight into what more needs to be done to achieve greater inclusion.

The most central low-income tourism project to my research is Astro, an NGO in Salvador consisting of four communities working together to establish community-based tourism. For that reason, the bulk of this analysis focuses on the experience of this organization via the different community representatives and the founder of the organization. The other low-income tourism projects are used as supplemental evidence. To use Astro as the primary example, I will address what the goals of social inclusion look like for the different communities of Astro. Then I will discuss the ways in which low-income communities do achieve social inclusion via tourism before pointing out the challenges to accomplishing social inclusion.

#### **4.1 Desire for social inclusion**

In order to understand the process of achieving social inclusion through tourism for Astro, it is first necessary to establish that social inclusion, is in fact, a goal of the communities participating in Astro. Astro participated in monthly capacitation meetings and one of the



meetings was dedicated to each community identifying its mission and vision for tourism. Of the four communities, three had come prepared and identified those different things in advance of the meeting. Of those three, two of them revealed a desire to accomplish social inclusion. That social inclusion, however, was not solely an inclusion on the level of the city, sometimes the focus was inclusion within the individual community. Thus, in order to evaluate the success of social inclusion in tourism, already those two levels need to be taken into consideration.

The neighborhood of Uruguai said of its vision: *“No prazo de 5 anos o turismo comunitário seja reconhecido como um processo importante dentro da comunidade e fora dela. Colabora para melhorar a qualidade de vida das pessoas respeitando suas diferentes histórias e valorizando as lutas cotidianas.”* (In a period of five years, they hope that community tourism is recognized as an important process within and outside of their community and that it contributes to improving the quality of life of the people in the community while respecting their different stories and valuing their daily struggles.) Here the emphasis is on the fact that the Uruguay representatives see tourism as something that can impact the quality of life of the neighborhood residents and valorize their existence, two things that fit the criteria of social inclusion for locals. By mentioning that the community itself recognizes the importance of tourism and that people’s differences are respected, this demonstrates a desire for greater social inclusion to happen even within their own community. They further stated in their mission the desire to, *“fortalecer nossas histórias sem de lesa do turismo comunitário nas comunidades periféricas de Salvador na formação ética, social, humana, religiosa, cultural e econômico,”* (strengthen the ethical, social, human, religious, cultural and economic formation of the peripheral communities of Salvador through tourism). Here we see that they are aware of the power of tourism to bring economic and cultural benefits to the peripheral communities, and this indicates their desire for

social inclusion of marginalized neighborhoods in relationship to the city as a whole. Thus, the statements by Uruguai reflect a desire for social inclusion to occur within their community and outside of it, primarily on the local levels. Notably, their statements do not reflect an explicit desire for social inclusion at the global level.

Another community, Plataforma, also connects their tourism goals with social inclusion. The Plataforma representatives said their vision of tourism is, “*Ser agente de transformacao dentro da comunidade por meio de promoção de valores humanos; envolvendo o maior # de pessoas fazer do turismo um instrumento de integração social, valorização da cultura e da comunidade com grande todo, ser um entidade com grande representatividade na comunidade com onde esta inserido.*” (To be an agent of transformation within the community by way of the promotion of human values; to involve the greatest number possible of people in order to make tourism an instrument of social integration; by valuing the culture and community above all, being an entity of great representative capacity in the community.) In the case of Plataforma, the social inclusion they desire, largely remains on the level of the community. They are seeking to accomplish social integration within the community. This means that there are aspirations to get people participating in the project within the community, thus empowering people. Moreover, this vision suggests that in addition to inclusion via empowerment, Plataforma is looking for inclusion via the valorization of the culture and traditions of the community. This can occur outside of the community, but these communities have also expressed a desire to improve self-esteem. Because they say they want the tourism project to be an entity of great representative capacity in the community, it points to the idea, that they are still largely thinking about inclusion across and within the community.

The comments from Uruguai and Plataforma reflect that the communities are seeking

social inclusion and that that social inclusion is desired at the level of their neighborhoods perhaps even more so than at the level of the city, and that social inclusion at the global level is not a central focus. Although the community representatives focus more on social inclusion within their communities, a desire for inclusion at the level of the city is still present. Natalie, the founder of Astro, discussed how Astro has made connections with the government in the process of getting their tourism projects off the ground. She said that the communities are hoping for government recognition for attracting tourists. They would like to see that recognition take the shape of improved infrastructure in their communities, like providing trash collection so they don't have to throw their trash over a wall unto an unused plot of land. Here we see that there is a desire for social inclusion on the level of the city by way of improving access to the city's resources and providing these neighborhoods with the infrastructure already available in other areas of the city. Social inclusion at the global level is not a central focus, but through international tourism there are some opportunities for recognition that facilitates global as well as local social inclusion.

From the community representatives' comments as well as Natalie's we can establish that social inclusion for locals via tourism endeavors reflects a desire to improve inclusion on two levels: that of the individual community and that of the city. Therefore, in assessing the degrees of success of accomplishing those goals, both of these levels need to be considered. In addition, social inclusion at the global level should be looked at because of this study's overall focus on international tourism. In order to evaluate success of obtaining social inclusion, I will rely on the criteria established by other scholars and primarily consider the improvement in financial conditions, valorization of culture and traditions, access to the city's resources and empowerment of the people.

## **4.2 Ways tourism offers inclusion**

The Astro community representatives are aware of the potential for tourism to be a tool for social inclusion both within their communities as well as in relationship to the city as a whole. In fact accomplishing this inclusion is one of the goals they have for getting involved in tourism. On some levels, the CBT that exists in the neighborhoods has been successful in bringing about social inclusion, for even at its nascent stages, the steps taken to implement tourism have already started to produce certain actions that are the basis for social inclusion. For example, in CBT, rather than letting outsiders interpret their realities to the tourists, the members of the community often have the opportunity to represent themselves both on the tours and in promotional material.

In the case of Astro, the opportunity for the communities to represent themselves became a very important issue when they were first getting connected to the municipal tourism office, SALTUR. This coincided with SALTUR launching its new website (a website that has since been taken down due to reorganization in the municipal government) in 2010. SALTUR was interested in including information about Astro's tourism in Salvador on its website; and, according to Astro founder, Natalie, drafted a description of the tours as "visiting poor, needy communities in the poorer side of the city." Just prior to the launch of the website, Astro was scheduled to have a meeting with the President of SALTUR and they were able to convince him of the need to re-write this description. Because time was of essence, it needed to get done during that meeting, so Natalie and the other Astro representatives at the meeting were on the phone with the representatives who were not, so that each community could have two sentences written about their neighborhood to be represented on this website.

Being able to self-represent on the city's tourism office website shows how the Astro communities, through tourism, were able to gain access to the government. They not only had

their desire to represent themselves be acknowledged, but also had the opportunity to write their own description of what a visit to their neighborhoods would be like. This was a considerable success in terms of tourism leading to social inclusion through the communities getting to represent themselves and thus be empowered.

Tours also give the communities an opportunity to represent themselves and again this is an important part of the process towards social inclusion. During a CBT meeting held in a non-Astro community, Pernambues, organized by a professor at the State University of Bahia, the professor who was offering a sort of training on CBT encouraged the residents in attendance to think about the things that represent their neighborhood and turn them into material form so that they can be sold. This recommendation not only shows the power of the residents to self-represent but also indicates that there are ways of capitalizing on those representations. This same professor also encouraged residents in Beirut, another potential CBT community, by telling them that in getting involved in CBT, they would get to tell their own narrative about their neighborhood. During one of the Astro training meetings, one of the discussion questions that generated much debate was about what characteristics each community wanted to emphasize about their communities in their tours. That some wanted to focus only on the positive while others wanted to give a balanced view talking about both the positive and negative aspects of their communities is less significant than the idea that the communities get to actually decide this. Considering that the communities are very used to having their neighborhoods represented in a negative light by outsiders, to get to decide what they want to emphasize is an important accomplishment and step towards having fuller participation in society.

Tourism also offers the opportunity for the people in the communities to get to know and take pride in their communities. Given that there is a history of negative press and an overall de-

valuing of the communities that contributes to their marginalization, taking steps toward valuing their communities enough to take an interest and pride in them is very significant. The community representative from Calafate talked about how, after a visit by French students, community members started taking more action to ensure that their neighborhood looked better. She also said that as they began the tourism project, the youth of the community started becoming tour guides, and they were able to get to know the history of their neighborhood through that experience. The community representative from Alto do Cabrito talked about how when the tourists visit her neighborhood, it provides a sense of pride and self-esteem to the residents as they see that it is not just the wealthy, central neighborhoods that are worth visiting, but that their neighborhood is as well. To value their own communities is, perhaps, the first step towards social inclusion so that others will also value their communities.

Tourism also facilitates social inclusion by opening up opportunities for people to gain skills and participate in something that could lead to further opportunities. Two of the representatives from Uruguai talked about how in their positions, one as employee at the community school and the other as head of the community center, they are in the business of providing opportunities for their residents. Thus, they stated that one reason they are interested in supporting tourism endeavors is because tourism also brings opportunities to the residents. For example, the Astro communities have received training to be able to implement tourism, but that training can also serve them in other areas of their lives. Specialists trained the community members on issues of health and safety for tourism, but such knowledge can be applied to their own households or used in their employment. Tour guide training provided the youth with skills to work as guides for tours in their neighborhoods, but those skills can serve them when working in other places, either within tourism or not. These types of trainings foster social inclusion by

opening up opportunities to improve financial well-being both through their involvement in the community-based tourism project as well as in the future, by providing them with skills and experiences that raise their human capital. The ability to gain skills through participating in and managing the tourism product is what distinguishes this type of community-based tourism from what happens in the Dominican Republic, where, according to Cabezas locals do not have the opportunity to gain skills (2008).

Another significant opportunity was when Astro was able to obtain scholarships for two youth to study English at an English-language school in central Salvador. Those students were able to significantly improve their English, a skill that serves them in the tourism realm, can be of use in other employment, and also serves to empower those individuals, as having learned a challenging skill can be a source of pride. Opportunities open up for people through tourism, and because of that, they are gaining greater access to their cities and societies. Thus, tourism contributes to social inclusion.

The communities in Astro are interested in gaining social inclusion through tourism, and in some cases they have been successful. The aforementioned example of gaining access to SALTUR's new website and being the only communities listed under CBT, was a success. In addition, all of the Astro communities have received donations from international organizations that visited and wanted to provide assistance to enhance other aspects of their communities. In Alto do Cabrito the organization that coordinates tourism is also a youth theater group, and their group was asked to perform at a coastal city outside of Salvador. Afterwards, they were given two new computers in recognition of their talent. In Calafate, a group that visited wanted to give back to the community and organized a fundraiser through the photos that the tourists took on the tour. This was one of the success stories that the Calafate representative mentioned in her

interview and it suggests that the through providing funding for their community, the communities feel that tourism is accomplishing its goal of providing opportunities, and thus social inclusion. Recognition by international organizations potentially leads to social inclusion on an international level as well as a local level for it can improve financial conditions and empower people in relationship to others in Salvador, but it can also lead to greater international access and cultural capital, especially when those relationships continue to develop over a period of time.

### **4.3 Getting tourism off-the-ground**

While tourism has the potential to bring about social inclusion, and in the case of Astro, there has been some success in that regard, there have also been obstacles. The many barriers that exist to getting tourism started in low-income communities is part of the reason as to why we have not seen more evidence of social inclusion despite involvement in tourism. This lack of progress in regards to tourism initiatives can be attributed to both internal and external impediments. The internal factors include negative self-perceptions about the community or about tourism there, the lack of priority given to tourism, and the community-oriented structure of the organizations working with Astro. The external factors are what have positioned these communities on the margins to begin with: poor infrastructure, lack of internationalization, and lack of cultural capital. Finally, another major impediment to getting tourism off the ground in low-income communities is the issue of violence and insecurity. This issue is equally an internal and external issue and thus will be discussed at the end.

#### **4.3.1 Internal Factors**

One barrier that impedes tourism getting off-the-ground is the prevalence of negative self-perception throughout the community. Although tourism has been instrumental in getting the



community residents to see their own neighborhoods as valuable and as a place worthy of tourists' eyes, there are still many people who have a hard time seeing that. In Beirut during the CBT planning meeting, some of the people in attendance discussed how part of the problem they face is that their some of their fellow community members hold negative views about their own community and they see that as obstacle. At the planning meeting in Pernambues, one of the community-members in attendance could not fathom tourists visiting his neighborhood because he could not get past the idea that tourists did anything but participate in mass tourism in big hotels on the beach. His inability to see beyond this, prevented him from seeing the value that his own community could offer to tourists. When residents cannot see the value of their own communities, it is even harder to get others to see the value, a step that is necessary to attracting tourists. Without tourists, social inclusion through tourism is impossible.

In addition to not seeing value in their neighborhoods, there are some low-income community residents who do not see the value in participating in the tourism projects that are going on in their communities. This is problematic as Mitchell and Reid, found that community integration is the key for tourism's success based on a study of community-managed tourism on the island of Taquile in Peru (2001). In Pernambues, one of the neighborhoods interested in establishing CBT under the guidance of UNEB's program, there were only seven people in attendance and all of them were over 60 years of age and all but one were female. It is hard to get a community project off of the ground that does not have support from a more diverse group of residents. In the Astro communities, getting a broad number of participants is a challenge particularly for Plataforma and Alto do Cabrito. The Plataforma leader mentioned in several meetings that it is hard to get the community to work together. Meanwhile, in Alto do Cabrito, the main representative for tourism is involved in the community as an after-school tutor and the

head of a youth theater organization. Neither of those roles is inherently attached to a broad segment of the neighborhood. Thus she handles the tourism component almost entirely on her own with the assistance of some of the youth in the theater group. The Astro communities also face difficulties because the youth they train as tour guides start to lose interest, outgrow the position and stop participating in tourism. Meanwhile, the gaps they leave are not always filled because others, who were not involved when those main tour guide responsibilities were distributed, never felt very included and still remain uninvolved. With high turnover and only few people participating in the tourism project, it makes it that much more difficult to get tourism off the ground and then to use tourism as a vehicle for social inclusion.

Another reason that it is difficult to get tourism off-the-ground for the Astro communities is that the community-organizations and the representatives in Astro are not solely dedicated to tourism. Tourism is only one part of the different activities they coordinate. In some cases they are community-government bodies, in others, like Alto do Cabrito, the representative runs youth programs. In Uruguai, the representatives work at a community school and center that exist to offer a multitude of opportunities to community members. This means that they do not all have unlimited time that they can be spending on tourism. Because of this, it is difficult to really establish tourism in the communities in a way that it could actually foster social inclusion.

Another problem that is related to the organizational structure of the communities is the fact that there is an impetus for tourism to be a project that the entire community is involved in. As mentioned, not everyone in the community participates and the fact that there is a community aspect to the project means that if people do not contribute, it is hard to push the project forward. While the community aspect also brings definite benefits like having more minds to come up with ideas, making tourism something that all can benefit from, and challenging the traditional,

vertical system, it also brings challenges that get in the way of actually establishing tourism. For example, when investing in training, rather than ensuring that there is one person who is really competent, there is a preference to offer basic training to many people. The result of this is that there are a lot of people with *some* knowledge, but no one who has the in-depth knowledge needed to carry things out. This happens in regards to trainings on how to run tours as well as English-language training. As Natalie, the founder of Astro said, “what ends up happening is there are a lot of people who know one semester of English, but no one who is fluent.” In some ways this makes sense given that they cannot guarantee anyone’s long-term commitment to the project and the community could invest in one person who then decides to use the skills in some other way, but it also means that no one is fully capable of implementing tourism the way the communities need.

The communal aspect also means that progress is limited when not everyone comes to the table prepared. Astro has this problem as an organization and the individual Astro communities also face that complication. When only one of the communities came to the training meeting having done the assignment from the previous month, it was tabled until the next month’s meeting, thus progress was stalled. The communal aspect also means that effort or interest by one individual or one community within Astro does not pay-off. Because each Astro community is supposed to receive an equal number of tours, there is no incentive for improving your community or making your tourism product more attractive. Costa Mielke reports on poor governance and the inability to control the operation as being a problem for CBT success (2012). The inability for any one individual or group to move things forward due to organizational structure is one example of how this happens. However, the potential for one person or a group to assume more power within the community can also be detrimental to the community project

(Hamilton and Alexander, 2013). Thus, it is challenging for Astro representatives to be incentivized while not taking the reigns entirely in their hands. This has an impact on the tourism project getting under way.

#### **4.3.2 External Factors**

Negative attitudes, priorities and organizational structure are all internal factors that are interfering with the efforts of residents to establish the success of tourism. In addition to the internal factors, there are a number of external factors that preclude tourism's success. As Lupton and Power identify, many neighborhoods become and stay excluded because they have characteristics that are difficult to change, but which exist external to the people like location, transportation infrastructure, education and economic opportunities (2002). Thus, these external factors are what position the communities on the margins of society to begin with. In this case, they include the lack of infrastructure, the lack of access to tourism flows, the lack of internationalization that would help in attracting tourists and the lack of knowledge and experience. All of these things contribute to why the residents of these communities face the social inclusion that could be overcome via tourism. Unfortunately, the fact that these things exist make it difficult to get low-income tourism projects, especially those that originate in the community, off the ground. Each of these external factors will be discussed below.

##### ***Infrastructure***

Lack of infrastructure is one of the major problems contributing to the social exclusion of low-income communities. It is also a reason why the tourism projects originating in these communities are so difficult to establish. There are a variety of infrastructural shortcomings in the peripheral communities. The one that seems to present the greatest challenge to both tourism and residents' daily lives is the lack of access to the communities due to transportation issues.

To start, these communities are often, although not always, located on the outskirts of the city. All of the Astro communities are located on the periphery of the city. For that reason, transportation to these neighborhoods is “horrible” (horrible) according to one of the representatives of the Uruguai neighborhood. For residents this means having to wait long periods of time for buses to come and sometimes, transportation stops unexpectedly. Nighttime is notoriously bad for reliable public transportation in Salvador, especially in peripheral neighborhoods. Thus, sometimes the best solution is walking the seven plus kilometers to the center of the city, especially because the cost of the transportation at R2.80 (approximately \$1.40) is expensive for people making minimal salaries. For tourists this means that going to these neighborhoods is never by accident. There are no buses that take them through these neighborhoods on their way to visit something else. Since this is one possible way to attract tourists, the fact that transportation does not get them there means that tourists do not know that these neighborhoods exist or have a desire to visit them. For the people who do know about these neighborhoods, getting to them is painfully difficult.

Field notes about my visit to one of the neighborhoods illustrate that difficulty and my experience has the advantage of 1.) having found out from somebody in the neighborhood I was visiting which bus to take; 2.) having more knowledge than the average tourist about the city of Salvador, and 3.) being able to speak fluent Portuguese. For someone for which one or all of the above is not true, this experience would have been far more challenging.

I left my house at 10:05 on Saturday morning and walked to the bus stop. I arrived at 10:20. It was one of those areas where not only are there several bus shelters, but there are several bus stops at the intersection and I am never exactly sure which bus stop is the one I should be waiting at. I waited where I could see both bus stops, thinking I could run across the street if I needed to. But after half-hour of not seeing a bus pass on either of the streets, I asked someone where the bus passed in case it didn't pass that intersection at all. The first person I asked, responded without hesitation that the bus would stop at the side street stop. I asked another person just to get a 2nd opinion and she too responded the side street

without hesitation, so I was reassured. I went to the bus shelter on the side street stop and sat down on the bench and waited. The bus still didn't come for a very long time and I really was very concerned. I did feel better than when I was standing uncertain at the other bus stop before I asked people about where the bus would stop.

Finally, around 11:20 the bus came and I boarded. It was pretty empty and I asked the *cobrador* about the Jehovah's Witnesses church, my landmark for getting off the bus. Another thing that was provoking anxiety, besides whether a bus would come, was whether I would even be able to find the bus stop for where to get off. Mercifully, there was someone who lives in the neighborhood I was going to and knew the location I was talking about, sitting right in front of the *cobrador*. She said she'd tell me when I should get off. From that point on, I felt much more relieved, but not quite relaxed, since similar experiences have taught me that I can never be certain that the person will remember to let me know when to get off or truly knows where I am asking about. Plus, it was already so late with the bus taking over an hour to show up. I was worried that by the time I got there, my contact would no longer be available to speak with me.

After half an hour on the bus, I thought I must be getting close. The lady who was going to help me appeared to have fallen asleep. I felt bad, but I woke her up to check-in. She said we weren't there yet. Once we entered into the neighborhood, it was after noon and my contact called and I told her I was almost there. A few minutes later, the woman told me it was my stop and I got off the bus and waved to her through the window. I walked in the direction I had been told to and met my contact who was walking to meet me. I had made it. It was 12:15.

The two hour commute, while excruciating and likely to deter most people not wanting to waste valuable tourist time, was nothing compared to the uncertainty of whether or not I would arrive at all. From not knowing which bus stop to wait at and not knowing where I needed to get off the bus, to not knowing if I could count on the person to truly help me find my stop, the experience was rife with anxiety and instability, a lot of it coming from a lack of familiarity. This means that this part of the experience could not simply be justified as giving tourists a taste of the locals' reality, for the locals would not have suffered quite as much uncertainty (some, yes, but not as much). The lack of clarity in accessing the far-away neighborhoods is a severe deterrent to actually visiting them. Thus, poor transportation infrastructure, not only in terms of the frequency of getting to marginal neighborhoods but also in general throughout the city in terms of knowing bus routes, stops and schedules means that tourists are very unlikely to access

those neighborhoods.

Another infrastructural impediment for tourism is the lack of lodging: there are no hotels or hostels in any of the Astro neighborhoods. This means that tourist visits are generally limited to one day. Given how long it takes to reach the neighborhoods, the fact that tourists cannot stay the night means that the time investment in going there is less attractive. Moreover, because there are no overnight accommodations, there is less money invested in the communities as tourists may come in for the day or half-day and then leave to go back to the neighborhoods that receive their money for lodging.

A lack of banking infrastructure in the low-income communities causes problems for the communities to comfortably host tourists and receive at least a portion of the payment up front. One of the greatest concerns with the tourism in Astro communities is related to financing the tourist experience. A typical Astro tour includes provision of some kind of refreshment. Sometimes a snack, sometimes a full meal. The preparation of the refreshment needs to happen in advance, and therefore, there needs to be cash available in the community to pay for the supplies. Because these community organizations and representatives do not have bank accounts by which they can receive a portion of the payment in advance, the cash needs to come from their supply. The cash is not always readily available, so it is an additional challenge for the communities to prepare for a tour. This also means that the communities are fronting the cash when they have no guarantee that they will be paid in the long run. Because the tourists do not put-in any cash up front, there is no punishment for them to cancel at the last minute. All of the communities have faced that situation. Such an unfortunate situation could be avoided if the communities had access to bank accounts or a banking system where they could collect money as part of a reservation system, which many businesses in the tourism industry do. This would

make tourism a more comfortable investment for communities and would likely ensure that planned tours actually take place, helping to further establish the tourism enterprise.

### ***Lack of access to tourism flows***

Both the geographic marginality and poor infrastructure lead to the Astro communities' lack of access to tourism flows, thus providing evidence of some of the disconnections evident in the global era and noted by scholars (Appadarai, 1996; Seigel, 2009; Tsing, 2005; Mendieta, 2007). Lack of access to tourism flows goes beyond the fact that these communities are not on the tourist circuit. Rather it refers to routine exclusion despite having a viable tourism product, thus showing how the lack of flows makes it hard to establish a successful tourism venture. One example of the lack of access to flows is evidenced in the case of Janice. She has a central role in the Uruguai neighborhood working as the head of a community center. She has an extra bedroom in her house available to rent out. Renting out rooms to tourists is a viable and common business in Salvador. Many households in Salvador earn an additional income from getting on a list at a Portuguese-language school or with a study abroad program and then offering their spare bedroom for a temporary stay to a tourist studying Portuguese or studying abroad. Janice has the same commodity available, but the fact that she lives in a marginal neighborhood prevents her from being able to regularly earn income for it. Thus, being outside tourism flows means that a valuable commodity in the city-center is worthless in marginal neighborhoods.

Astro communities also see the impact of their lack of flows in the number of tourists they receive, and this lack of access to markets is not uncommon for CBT (Costa Mielke, 2012; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). Despite having tours planned out and guides trained to show people around, Astro has only been getting about 15 tour groups per year since 2009. That averages less



than 4 tours per community each year. Such a small number hardly suggests the success of tourism and does not allow the communities to achieve social inclusion through any of the criteria: finances, cultural validation, empowerment or access to resources. Tourists are not venturing into the neighborhoods of their own accord, in large part due to location and problems with transportation. Occasionally tour groups come from international organizations who have heard about or made contact with Astro and set up a tour prior to arriving in Brazil. However, these are much too sporadic to be sustainable. The technique that Astro was using for awhile to bring tourists into their neighborhoods was arduous. Natalie, the founder, would go to certain hotels where tour groups were staying two days before a potential tour and explain what the tour was. The tourists were given 24 hours to decide if they wanted to do this optional add-on to their itineraries. The community who would host the tour then had 24 hours to get organized for the tour, which was often very difficult. Money was not collected in advance from the tourists, and the communities were not making much surplus from the few tours they had each year anyway, so the communities had no cash to work with to get prepared. This system was not very successful in establishing tourism.

However, as Natalie pointed out, the Astro communities do not have a lot of options. The Astro community residents cannot just drop off fliers at the hotels and hostels because people would not trust who the community members are nor what their intentions were. This issue goes beyond what Costa Mielke (2012) and Goodwin and Santilli (2009) report on in terms of promotional materials. According to those scholars the issue is budget, which is also a consideration for Astro; however, even more than that is the issue of not being accepted and trusted by fellow city residents. This distrust was corroborated by Sonia, a middle-class host mother from a central neighborhood in Salvador when we talked about a man I had met,

Reginaldo, who was trying to operate a little rustic posada out of his home in a low-income neighborhood. With hammocks for beds and a bucket for a latrine, it was an experience for only certain types of tourists (See Figure 2). Reginaldo would hang out in Pelourinho, the historic center where tourists frequent to talk about his posada and try to attract clientele. He approached me hoping that I would want to stay there long-term. I did not, but did take him up on the offer for one night to see what his tourism enterprise was all about.

When speaking to Sonia about the experience, she was scandalized that Reginaldo was operating this type of lodging and immediately asked where I met him. When I told her Pelourinho, she shook her head with a look that said, “I told you this guy is not legitimate.” It was exactly as Natalie described. Low-income people cannot just show up trying to promote their tourism enterprises and expect to be trusted. This exemplifies the degree to which social exclusion exists for low-income residents, and thus, how very challenging it is to overcome. Nevertheless, in the case of Astro, they have tried by using the English-speaking foreigner of the organization as their representative to provide a sense of legitimacy. The need for this approach to recruit tourists will be further addressed when discussing issues of cultural capital, but here it demonstrates both the onerous process to getting tourism off the ground in a sustainable way, and how it counteracts social inclusion by disempowering, rather than empowering the low-income residents.



**Figure 2.** The inside of Reginaldo's posada depicting the hammocks for beds and the plywood walls common to the dwellings in the low-income neighborhood where the posada is located.

Other options for bringing in more tourists and thus establishing a sustainable tourism project in a less-labor intensive way include making contacts with tour agencies/guides who can offer their clients a tour to the Astro communities. To do this is to sacrifice some of the autonomy and profits from their tours as the agent will certainly want to charge for bringing people in and in some cases the guides want to do the tours themselves. Moreover, in one case Astro did find an ally in the owner of a tour agency in Salvador who, while morally supporting Astro's community tourism project, already had his own communities that he works with and where he takes his tourists. Thus, the low-income communities that are going to find most

success in tourism and are going to be included in tourism flows, are those that have been sought-out first by outsiders, not those that have initiated tourism themselves and are attempting to carry it out on their own terms. Again, this does not provide a form of tourism that best promotes social inclusion.

Tourism is not the only disconnection for the peripheral communities, but because tourism has this potential to create social inclusion, the fact that low-income communities are disconnected from tourism flows is problematic. It means that the talented artists in the communities that can attract tourist attention and money have to leave the community to sell their art in other parts of the city that do attract tourists. This is something that the community representative from Alto do Cabrito discussed; the rest of the community cannot benefit from those community members' skills. Without access to tourists, the residents of low-income, peripheral neighborhoods cannot use tourism for social inclusion even when they have the tours and the talent.

### ***Lack of international cultural capital***

The lack of tourism flows into the peripheral communities is both a contributor to and a result of the lack of international cultural capital that is needed to attract and sustain the interest of foreign tourists. This is another factor that prevents tourism from getting off the ground. There are many different types of international flows, and for that reason it is imprecise to suggest that these communities do not have any international cultural capital. However, the specific international cultural capital related to attracting tourists is key to getting tourism off the ground, and this, by and large, is lacking in the low-income communities working in tourism in Salvador. Issues with international cultural capital start with communication, so the inability to speak foreign languages, especially English, is primary evidence of the shortage. Several of the

Astro community representatives brought up the lack of foreign-language-speaking residents in planning meetings or interviews indicating that it is a matter of concern for them. Natalie also admitted that the inability to speak English is a big obstacle for the communities' tourism projects.

Not having anyone who can speak a tourist language (primarily English and Spanish in Salvador) creates several challenges for the emergence of a sustained tourism project. First of all it leads to problems in recruiting/attracting tourists because, in the case of Astro, the only person who can comfortably find non-Portuguese speaking tourists is Natalie. Second, it creates a logistical problem for figuring out who will interpret for any non-Portuguese speaking tourist who is visiting. Spontaneous visits are essentially out-of-the-question except for the limited pool of tourists who speak Portuguese. Natalie did discuss that there have been opportunities for people from Astro communities to take English classes, but as mentioned previously, in order to satisfy the communal component of the organization, this ended up being a basic course for everyone rather than an opportunity for any one person to become proficient. One of the community representatives also had received a scholarship to an English language school, but after two years, he felt uncomfortable continuing to ask for financial support. His English was the best of the group during the time of this study, but still, he was shy about using the skill. This suggests a lack of confidence and may mean that he will not continue to improve or even retain the skill if he does not practice.

Besides foreign language skills, another example of the lack of international cultural capital related to communication is in regards to maintaining connections to organizations who have taken an interest in and made donations to the communities. Natalie told about how one of the Astro communities ultimately lost a donor because they did not send proper thank you letters

and reports on how the funds were spent. She said that she likes to give the communities the space to respond on their own rather than take action herself. However, she does encourage them to write to donors, even if it is in Portuguese, in order to show appreciation. In the instance that she discussed, the foreign donors were asking for a report on how the money was spent and the community never provided that information. Eventually the donors stopped providing the support because they were not getting the insights they wanted into how the money was being used. Not knowing how to maintain communication with foreigners, especially those whose interest could provide financial support is problematic for many CBT organizations (Costa Mielke 2012). While the issue of doing things on the communities' own terms vs. the foreigners' terms will be explored in depth later on in this chapter, it is potentially relevant here. The community not providing the reports could be an example of not wanting to conform to outsiders' desires, but it is more likely that the decision not to respond was less a conscious act of agency and more an example of not knowing or feeling confident in the ability to provide the information the donors wanted. Thus, not knowing, or a lack of cultural capital, positioned the community in a place where it lost international contacts that provided funding and visitors, both of which help with the tourism project and in acquiring social inclusion more generally.

Janice, a leader from one of the Astro communities provides further evidence of the lack of cultural capital related to maintaining connections and how that absence can be detrimental to sustaining tourists. Janice is the community leader who has an extra room to rent. The GCY program approached her about that room and she ended up hosting two GCY tourists for about two months approximately two months prior to my having interviewed her. This arrangement will be analyzed further in chapter six, but is also relevant here. When speaking about GCY, Janice referred to it as an ONG (an NGO), and I asked her what it was called, and she said she

did not remember. While on some level, it is understandable that Janice would not remember the name of the organization—it is an English acronym, if she was hoping to continue doing business with the organization in the future, it would be helpful to remember its name so as to be able to demonstrate that she was legitimately interested. Her lackadaisical rather than assertive recollection of the organization stands in contrast to the women who host foreigners in more central neighborhoods, and who generally keep very controlled records of the organizations they work with and their different requirements. Knowing the names of the organizations and the responsibilities they have when hosting foreigners from each one, allow them to continue receiving them. After all, hosting tourists can be a profitable business.

The disinterest that Janice demonstrated by not knowing the name of the organization she had been working with was coupled by descriptions of a home environment in which she was almost never at home because she was working so often. When asked in her interview, she did not articulate any shared experiences or routines she had with the GCY tourists. GCY aims at providing the tourists with an exchange experience in the sense that culture would be exchanged through a shared living arrangement. Since she was rarely at home, it was difficult for the tourists living with her to have that experience. While they got a different kind of insight into the life of a busy woman in a leadership role in the community, they were not getting the hands-on experience that they thought they would. Nor did it appear that Janice intuitively knew to give that.

This is not to say that what Janice was offering should not be seen as valuable. In fact, it is because it is insight into where this particular person is at in relationship to some of the tourist “norms.” However, as the literature review on cosmopolitanism mentions, one part of globalization related to cosmopolitan status is the process where rather than everything becoming

the same, things become acceptably different, thus making people want to consume each “different” culture or experience. In tourism this means offering a product that stands out but is not too different so as to be unappreciated (Guerrón-Montero 2011). In this case, it appears that Janice offering the personal insight that her life is actually too busy to be able to participate in an exchange with her GCY tourists was too different for GCY to accept. The tourists who were staying with her, ultimately left her home over four months earlier than planned. People with more exposure to exchange programs and thus with more international cultural capital, are better prepared to offer an arrangement with certain rituals that allow for communing along the lines of what the tourists are expecting. This would help in creating a sustainable tourism product where the tourists stay the planned amount of time and the organization continues to send tourists.

### ***Lack of human capital***

Besides lacking the international cultural capital that would facilitate tourism, the low-income communities are also often lacking human capital insofar as general knowledge and experience regarding tourism are concerned. While lack of human capital also creates problems for tourism sustainability, in this section it is worth pointing out how it affects the development of an attractive tourism product. With no tourism product, social inclusion via tourism is not possible. The residents of the communities have little to no formal training in tourism. SENAC, a publicly funded training institute in Salvador offers a course to obtain a tour guide credential. Acceptance to the course is highly competitive, as reportedly even people with PhDs aspire to get their tour guide certificate. Moreover, the course is a significant time commitment: meeting five times per week for nine months. Thus to both earn a place in and be able to attend the course is prohibitive for the majority of the Astro community residents who are unable to compete with others who have much more education and can afford to travel to SENAC so often



to take the course. Without that credential, the guides in the Astro communities will always be amateurs. In a city where there is a lot of competition and comparison in the tourism sector, this is likely to impact the guides' confidence to really own their tourism products and come up with innovative ideas.

In some cases, the Astro communities have received grants and other funding to provide training. However, as mentioned before, there is a tendency to spread the wealth instead of fully capacitate a single individual. Moreover, this training does not provide the official tour guide credential. The training means that rather than sending someone to do the SENAC course, an instructor is invited into the community to do a one-day training session for anyone who is interested in learning. Therefore, a lot of people end up with a little training, leading to a lack of specialized knowledge. Again, this allows for people to engage in tourism at an amateur level with a enough knowledge to engage in a small-scale tour, but not enough to really take the reins and use specialized knowledge to develop an attractive and sustainable tourism product.

Maria, the middle-aged Astro representative of Calafate, was always the most active participant in the organization during my research period. Her decision to enroll in a a tourism higher-education program further demonstrates the importance of human capital in developing tourism. Maria always seemed the most organized of all the Astro members in regards to tourism. She clearly had goals to develop tourism beyond the support that Astro was giving. Her decision to enroll in a program demonstrates that in order to really make tourism a successful endeavor, one needs to have the human capital that is obtained through specialized training. She was aware of that and because she was truly committed to tourism, she took a step and a risk, that no one else in Astro was willing to take. Since taking that risk, Calafate has had successes in tourism, opening a community-run hostel and receiving several different groups of

tourists. This suggests that human capital, does contribute to developing tourism. In addition, it can contribute to ensuring that tourism is sustainable and produces the desired results leading to increased social inclusion.

#### **4.3.3 Violence and Insecurity**

The issue of violence and insecurity in low-income neighborhoods is a multifaceted one. First of all, it is both an external and internal issue. It is internal, because the violence, when it happens, generally comes from within the community, and many of the concerns about violence are from the residents themselves. It is external because some of the causes of violence are a result of issues that extend beyond the communities, and because the perceptions of outsiders regarding violence factor into whether they will take a tour of the communities. The issue of violence and security is further complicated because it can be both an impediment for getting tourism off the ground as well as a reason why tourism, even when it happens, does not produce the desired inclusion. All of these things will be discussed in this section.

There is no doubt that the issue of violence is a major concern for low-income communities planning tourism projects. The issue came up on numerous occasions with Astro representatives as well as during a tourism planning meeting in the community of Beirut. In an interview, Alicia, the Astro representative from Alto do Cabrito, said that due to potential violence, it is necessary to have numerous back-up plans for a tour, but that it is hard to have a bunch of different options in place. This means that it is hard to establish a tourism plan thinking about how many different options need to be available for a single tour. In Beirut, the people talked about the potential for violence and were at a loss when trying to come up with what they would do if something happened. Not knowing how to move past that risk frustrated some of the residents in attendance. During one Astro planning meeting, a significant portion of the meeting

was focused on what to do if there was a violent episode. Some of the communities explained their back-up plans, others said they would have to cancel the tour. Ultimately among the four communities, they decided that it would be good to have a different Astro community on back-up for any given tour so that the tour would not have to be cancelled altogether. This works out because the communities are collaborating, but it also entails even more work for no pay-off: two communities are getting prepared for each tour, but only one will actually host the tour. The potential for violence means more work and no guaranteed return, which is a disincentive to actually work in tourism to begin with.

Outsiders' perceptions of insecurity also play a role in whether tourism can be established in low-income communities. The majority of international tourists do not seem to have many preconceptions about the low-income communities, so often the perceptions of insecurity come from local people living in central areas of Salvador or the program coordinators of the tourists. More specifics on the experiences and perceptions that tourists' acquire will be covered in chapter five, but it is clear that tourists' are largely influenced by the perceptions that locals have. That the low-income communities are perceived so negatively in the local context has an impact on local visitors as well as tourists from farther away.

Low-income residents' perceptions of insecurity of their own neighborhoods also play a role in tourists' experiences and perceptions; however, tourists are already in the neighborhoods by the time they are exposed to those attitudes. For that reason residents' perceptions have more of an impact on how tourism is experienced and thus affects how established tourism affects social inclusion. Based on interviews and observations, people from the peripheral communities take a greater responsibility for protecting tourists from crime than local people from central neighborhoods. This likely reflects a variety of trends. First, the amount of crime that exists in

the neighborhoods. Second, the communal nature of the low-income neighborhoods to look out for one another. Third, a lack of experience with receiving tourists to know what they can and cannot handle. Evidence of this increased concern comes from the frequency with which this is brought up. For example, Alicia says that she worries that she “cannot guarantee the tourists’ safety” when they visit her community. It also comes from the protective nature demonstrated by Janice towards the GCY tourists she hosted (discussed in Chapter 6) and my own experience in one of the low income communities where I was gathering research about both Astro and GCY. The following are my research notes from the experience:

I arrived promptly at the time we had agreed on and went to the cultural center for the interview. I went inside, and there was only one young woman present. She was inside an office. I told her I had a meeting with Janice. She said she wasn’t in, that she had just left, and that she wouldn’t be back for hours. I told her I had come all the way from Barra to meet with her, was there any way to locate where she was. She tried calling her a few times, but there was no answer. She just said that Janice would be back in the afternoon, if I wanted to return then.

I decided to wander the neighborhood then, instead of after the meeting as I had originally planned. I was trying to find Bagunçação an NGO where some tourists were volunteering. I had some directions written down, but the streets and their names didn’t totally match with what was on the map I had looked up. I ended up walking down a main street, that had a median in the center. I didn’t think I was going the right way, but thought that perhaps I would get lucky and happen upon it via an alternative route. I also wasn’t in a big hurry, since I had many hours to kill.

I knew I was nervous walking through these unknown neighborhoods, but also felt like I should just be calm. There was no reason to expect anyone would do anything to me. The only thing I was worried about losing was my audio recorder, which I needed for my research. I had my camera with me, but since the screen is broken, I did not care if I lost it. For the most part, I stayed on the median while I walked, it seemed that not a lot of people were walking on it, and it gave me options to move either right or left if someone approached. I noticed some looks, but I didn’t get too much attention. I walked and walked, for at least a half hour, possibly more. Finally, I decided that I was getting no where, and turned around the way I came. I got back to the main road and continued to look for Bagunçação. I found some more streets from my little map, but again, couldn’t find anything else. There was an intersection where there were multiple options of where to turn. It was confusing. I ended up trying all of them and finally found my way. Since I had been there 3 years before, I had a vague recollection of what to look for. Despite that,

it didn't really stand out to me, which was probably why it was difficult to find.

One of the reasons it was unrecognizable is that there was absolutely no children around. Three years ago it was bursting with kids, inside and out. Now, if it weren't for a light on the outside, I would have thought the place was defunct. The door was chained up, there were bars on the windows, and one window was broken. It was deserted and felt especially absent.

There was a house across the street with a woman standing in the doorway, facing into the house. I decided to ask if she knew anything about Bagunçação. She didn't seem to know, or offer much information. She was more concerned about me and that I was alone. She asked if I came all by myself. I said yes. She asked where I came from. Not exactly sure what she meant, but having a feeling that the closer I said, the better, I told her I came from the nearby Centro Cultural. She gasped in surprise (here I thought this would be a good thing to say because it was so close, not like saying Barra or the U.S.). She went on and on about how I had come here all by myself, telling the woman inside the house as well. That this is dangerous, and asking me about this. Soon a man started approaching on his bicycle. He was at least in his sixties. She called out to him, and told him that I had come over to Bagunçação from Alagados all by myself and that he should take me back to Alagados on his bike. I kept insisting that I would be fine (and she didn't even know that I had taken a 45-minute stroll down that other street or gotten lost for a long time looking for Bagunçação). The guy obliged to her request, and I felt that I could deny her insistence no more. Alas, I had to sit side-saddle on the crossbar of the man's bike, while he struggled with the added weight and uneven placement of it, to keep his balance and get momentum. I felt terrible making this man work so hard, but perhaps more, I felt sick to my stomach with worry about falling off, or getting killed in this not-very-adept maneuver. I concentrated on picking up my feet and not being more of a burden. At one point, we got to an area of other cars, and people, and it made it even more difficult to keep momentum, as he had to brake for the different obstacles, including a car that was braking right in front of us. I was completely terrified. The man, decided that the busy road was not going to work, so he made a few very cumbersome turns and then we got to the main road that I had walked down before. As soon as we got there, a car did too, and the man needed to quickly steer out of its way. The move was so sudden, that I or he or perhaps both of us put our feet on the ground to brake, and avoid the collision with that car. At that point, I would have had to either re-situate myself and get back on, or just bow out and avoid further agony to the man and life-threatening situations for both of us. I opted to tell him, that I was by then close enough to just walk, and that I knew the way. He nodded in agreement (I guess about the walking), but did accompany me all the way back to the bus stop. On the way we passed the school where some of the Astro representatives worked, and so, instead of going to the Centro Cultural about a block away, I decided to go back to the school, and check it out. I went inside, and Janice was there (and had been the whole time). So I got to do my interview.

My research notes illustrate the perceptions of insecurity of an outsider as well as a local resident. In my case, my fears, kept me a bit on edge, but were not enough to dissuade me from

visiting and exploring the neighborhood. The perceptions of insecurity of the local resident were far more elevated than my own. Her response was way more involved than anything I had experienced in central Salvador in terms of strangers taking it upon themselves to worry about my safety. This contributes to my understanding that residents of the marginal, low-income neighborhoods take a greater responsibility for protecting tourists from crime than do people in the central neighborhoods. Ultimately I acquiesced to the woman because I was concerned that by not listening, I would be demonstrating a disregard and a lack of validation of the local woman's knowledge. However, it was a most uncomfortable experience, and certainly not one that promotes tourism. Tourists who are more concerned about their own experience than the feelings of locals, would probably not have abided by the woman's suggestion, as narratives from GCY tourists will attest to in Chapter 6. This shows that differences between tourists and locals' perceptions of insecurity also contribute to the degree to which social inclusion is accomplished through tourism, but this will be addressed more fully later on.

Finally, when crime actually does happen, tourists may find that the experience did not meet their expectations of safety. This may bring an end to that tourism endeavor, which does not foster inclusion via tourism. Joana, one of the Uruguai representatives talked about how such a thing happened at the community school where she works. The school had been receiving foreign tourists as volunteers to teach English. The tourists were a part of the CCS (Cross-Cultural Solutions) program and they had built a regular relationship with the program so that every couple months a new batch of volunteers would come. They had a van that took the volunteers from their neighborhoods in the city center to Uruguai. One time the van was robbed while the driver was waiting to pick the volunteers up and take them back to the city center. Because of that incident, the volunteer program was terminated and CCS no longer sent its

tourists to volunteer to teach English in Uruguai. These types of issues come from within the communities, but the fact that they lead to the lack of sustainability of tourism is partially due to how tourists' perceive these problems. The next section will delve further into how social inclusion is hard to come by when the tourism projects are not sustainable.

#### **4.4 When tourism does not bring inclusion**

Although there are many obstacles to getting tourism off-the-ground in low income communities, there are instances of tourism in those communities, which provide insight into the process of tourism facilitating social inclusion. To date, much of the tourism has not produced the desired result, thus meaning that the tourism has proven unsustainable and incapable of generating inclusion. Sometimes this is because the experience has proven to be something intolerable to tourists, and thus they do not want to come back or recommend the experience to others. More often, however, the exclusion happens because of how the community residents are made to feel before, during and after the tourism experience. These feelings range from being exploited and not getting what they feel they deserve, to having to do too much for too little return, or just having to conform too much to what the tourists' desire. Finally, inclusion can remain elusive because of the role of outsiders and the power they exert over communities' tourism projects. In this section, I will first explain how tourism becomes unsustainable because tourists do not get what they want, then I will discuss how residents' experiences lead to feelings of exclusion before talking about the patterns of power of outsiders.

##### **4.4.1 Not meeting tourists' expectations**

One way that low-income tourism proves unsustainable and thus, does not result in inclusion is when the tourists are unsatisfied. Reasons for tourist dissatisfaction are varied, but regarding low-income tourism it is likely to stem either from tourists' own erroneous perceptions

of the communities, or because they were led to believe the experience would be a certain way and it was not. One example of tourist misperception is when seeking the elusive standard of authenticity. One tour group visiting an Astro community discussed its decision to visit the communities in Salvador rather than Rio de Janeiro because of their “authenticity”. This group leader claimed that the commercialization that happens in Rio’s low-income communities (its favelas) mean that these places are no longer authentic. Thus, the desire to profit from tourism may mean that the visit will not meet the tourists’ standards for an authentic experience. Making money off of tourism is one way to obtain a level of inclusion, thus, by scorning this, the communities are put in a position to not seek financial inclusion through tourism. Moreover, the idea that authenticity cannot be commercial, shows an unreasonable expectation for what the communities are and need. There is little the host community can do to meet tourists’ expectations and derive its own benefits if that is what the tourist expects to find.

Tourists also experience dissatisfaction when they are led to believe that the experience will be a certain way, but is not. For the Astro communities this became an issue because the number of local people who were engaged in the tour, were fewer than what the tourists expected. As mentioned previously, when there is a minimal number of community members involved in the tourism project, it creates a problem. First, because it places an undue burden on those residents who are involved. Second, it affects the sustainability of a community tourism project because community tourism is all about giving the tourists a sense of their community. If few residents are engaged, the tourists are not going to get a sense of community and will likely be dissatisfied with the tour. Dissatisfied tourists mean no repeat visits and poor reviews that can influence other potential tourists. No research has been done to determine how many people are needed to make a satisfying community tour, but based on a tour of Plataforma, an Astro



community, we can see that not having enough local people involved has a negative impact on tourists.

In August, a group of French youth were touring Plataforma. This organization had taken four groups of 20-25 tourists each to Salvador during July and August of that year. They coordinated their entire trip through a Bahian tourism agency, Bienvenue, run by Arnaud, a French native living in Bahia. Bienvenue, via Arnaud, was the primary contact for Astro, and they referred to their experience with Bienvenue, not the specific organization from France. Each group was supposed to visit one of the four Astro communities, but Alto do Cabrito was unavailable so two groups visited Uruguai. The last group to go to Salvador was visiting Plataforma. During the course of my fieldwork, Bienvenue brought the only tourists that Astro received. For that reason, this experience was significant both to the communities who reflected on it repeatedly and for my research by offering the primary insights into the on-the-ground tourism interactions for the Astro communities.

Because Plataforma was the last visit, and there had already been some concerns with the visits that took place in the other communities, which will be revealed further along in the chapter, there was already some tension between the community representatives and Bienvenue and its clients. While this may have contributed to why there was not an overabundance of community youth to engage with, it very likely could have happened anyway. As the community representative from Plataforma reports, the youth in the community had a big party that day (it was a Saturday) and they were busy. Therefore, during the cultural exchange activity, which was a game of soccer, there were very few Plataforma youth playing. There were only six adolescent guys who were around the same age as the French tourists who were high school-age, and there was an equal number of youth under 10 years old. Since the idea was to

get the adolescents paired up with their peers, both the number and ages of the residents did not entirely satisfy the desires of the French organization (Depicted in Figure 3). The following year, when the French organization contacted Bienvenue to plan a repeat trip to Salvador, they explicitly asked not to visit Plataforma, a neighborhood they did not feel matched their needs of providing a cultural exchange among youth. Reasons aside, when a number of residents are not involved in the tour, it can lead tourists to feel as though they are not getting the experience they expected of connecting with the community. Now I turn to how exclusion happens not because of tourists' dissatisfaction but because of how it makes residents feel, which was also a factor with the Bienvenue tours.

#### **4.4.2 Not meeting residents' expectations**

While a dissatisfied tourist may mean that the tourism project ends and does not produce inclusion for that reason, dissatisfied residents mean that the experience of tourism has actually produced exclusion rather than inclusion. In some cases residents are dissatisfied not necessarily because of any particular instance or experience with a group of tourists, but because tourism is a challenging business to break into, and in order to get started there is a lot of investment that needs to be done with little or no guarantee that it will pay off. As already mentioned there are a lot of factors that make tourism hard to get off the ground in the peripheral neighborhoods. Tour itineraries need to be planned out, the tour guides need to be trained, people in the community need to be on board, and promotional materials need to be developed and distributed in order to even entertain the idea of having tourists. If all that works and the community secures a group of tourists to visit, even more work needs to be done to prepare for the visit, which requires coordinating with people who will be available to show off the community. This includes artisans, teachers, young people, special organizations that do capoeira or music in the

community, and others. When there are only four tours per year for each community, this ends up being a lot of work for such an infrequent occurrence. That the tourism comes so sporadically means that they can't just set things up one time and leave it; rather, each time they get tourists, it is like they have to start from scratch. Thus, the workload really does add up and the profit is minimal.

Moreover, it is not just the time invested that is the problem. Often the communities have to invest their own money as well. Since food is always offered on the tours, the supplies for the meal or snack need to be purchased and prepared in advance. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the communities are lacking banking infrastructure so as to be able to collect a deposit from the tourists as part of the reservation process. Thus, the communities need to invest their own money up front in the hopes that everything will go according to plan and the money they make from the tour covers those expenses. Sometimes things do not go according to plan, and the founder of Astro as well as one of the community representatives referred to times when the communities were stood-up by the tourists or the tours get cancelled at the last minute after the preparations had already been made. The representative from Alto do Cabrito recalled how difficult that was for the youth that she works with, who always look forward to the tourists' visits and had a hard time understanding the sudden change of plans. Whether the tourists cancel for legitimate reasons or not, to have a last minute cancellation or no-show is one primary reason that the tourism does not serve to provide social inclusion, but rather reenforces exclusion. When the tourists do not show up because they have nothing to lose, it is a clear example of exploitation of the vulnerability of the communities, who have not been able to collect a deposit and merely have to rely on the tourists keeping their word. To have their vulnerability taken advantage of does not produce feelings of inclusion.

The inexperience of the communities has also been exploited, thus leading to frustration for the communities and further reminder of their exclusion. The most notorious example of this type of exploitation happened with the Bienvenue tour agency in July and August of 2012. Bienvenue's client was an organization from France that organized an annual trip to Brazil for the children of public servants. Arnaud told the Astro representatives that these children, despite their ability to take an overseas trip and while there, buy the popular Brazilian Havaiana flip-flops (running between \$10-\$25 a pair), did not have much money and could not afford to pay for their tours to the communities. Rather, they would make a donation to the communities in the form of used clothing. Because they wanted to have a meal in the communities, they would pay \$R350 (175USD) for the preparation of a meal, but this was not enough money to ensure that the community members who were involved in the experience could also be fed. When Bienvenue contacted Astro about this arrangement, Natalie was in the UK attending to family matters, so the communities accepted the arrangement on their own. While they were not thrilled with the idea, they were the ones who decided to accept. Natalie attributed that decision to the communities' lack of experience in negotiating such matters. Ultimately, Bienvenue exploited the communities' inexperience to get a free tour for its tourists and an opportunity for the tourists to feel like they were generously helping the "needy" through their clothing "donation." This exploitation made for a very bitter experience for some members of the Astro communities, further excluding them as deserving members of society and from being a tourist destination for the French organization the following year.

Ultimately, the Bienvenue visits of 2012 were remembered with much resentment as the communities felt that they did not get what they wanted out of the experience. To begin, the representatives complained about the fact that they ended up having to pay to receive those

tourists from the coffers of their own organizations' funds because in order to get community residents to participate, they had to promise them lunch as well. Bienvenue was only paying to cover the costs of its own tourists' lunch. In addition, the communities were not happy about the clothing donation. Since the tourists were coming from France, many of the items were inappropriate for the climate of Salvador. For example, scarves and jackets were among the items donated, neither of which are useful in Salvador's tropical climate. In some cases the quantity of clothing donated was very minimal, so after eliminating the useless items, it amounted to hardly anything. For the amount of work it took to bring the tourists in, to have received such a pittance in exchange was frustrating.

Because both Uruguai and Calafate had already had their experience with Bienvenue by the time it was Plataforma's turn, there was already some frustration and skepticism in the air. The community leaders had already talked about their experiences and voiced their annoyance with Arnaud and how he handled the tours. On the Saturday of Bienvenue's visit to Plataforma, the community representatives from Calafate and Uruguai decided to tag along and show support for Plataforma. Monica, the Plataforma community leader led the tour through the neighborhood, and it was apparent that the tourists were not all that interested in what was going on. When it was time to play soccer, the issue of the Plataforma youth being absent was apparent. The idea was that the tourists would play against the local youth, but there were way more tourists than locals. There were a few guys from Plataforma in their late teens and then a handful of children under ten. Although this may not have been what the tourists were expecting, people still played and had fun. The female tourists played against the younger kids and the male tourists played against the older ones.

After soccer, it was time for lunch and here the failure of the cultural exchange aspect of

the experience was obvious when the tourists and local youth did not sit with each other or engage with each other at all (Figure 3). Several local youth expressed their frustration to me about this issue saying that they would have liked for the tourists to take an interest in them because even if they did not speak the same language, they would probably find that they could communicate. The Astro representatives were also very aware of the tourists' unwillingness to break out of their comfort zone and talk with anyone outside of their group. The lunch dragged on like this, while tensions and frustrations heightened. After lunch, the tour was over, but Arnaud reminded everyone that the clothing donation still had to be made. The Astro community members dragged their feet but eventually everyone made it to Monica's house where, on the patio, Arnaud led the children in creating a huge pile of their clothing donations on the floor (represented in Figure 4, but the photo is of a different group). He then wanted everyone to get in a picture together, which the tourists were quick to do, but Monica and other local people downright refused. As the pictures were being taken, members of Astro clustered together shaking their heads and muttering about how inappropriate this behavior was. After the photos, some of the French tourists started handing out stuffed animals to some of the children who were hanging around outside. There was no order to whom they gave the toys, and word spread quickly that things were being handed out, so little children came running down the street to try to get a toy. In some cases, by the time they arrived, there was nothing left. Several children came up to me to ask for a toy, and they were disappointed to find that I did not have anything for them. The Astro representatives also took all of this in, and frowned at the random distribution of these items.

As Monica led Astro back to their transportation, disappointment abounded on both sides. Bienvenue and its clients were disappointed not to have received the welcoming attitude they

expected and that there were not many local people involved in the tour. As mentioned, this led them to exclude Plataforma from where they wanted to visit the next year. The Astro representatives were unhappy with the entire situation but primarily affected by the savior-like attitude that the tourists were encouraged to employ when giving the clothing and toys, while seemingly uninterested in the community during the tour and lunch. Through the Bienvenue tours, the communities received neither the financial nor the cultural validation benefits that CBT is designed to achieve, and which potentially lead to inclusion. Instead, they were treated to exploitation reminiscent of the colonial era in which the foreigners took what they could, gave nothing of substance in return and still managed to feel like good humanitarians. This 500-year setback in intercultural contact, was a clear reminder that the communities are not considered as equals in society.



**Figure 3.** A group of French tourists, clients of Bienvenue, on the right and five local youth from the Plataforma neighborhood on the left. Photo depicts the small number of local youth which disappointed the French tourists as well as the segregation between the tourists and locals which disappointed the locals.



**Figure 4.** A group of French youth tourists visiting Uruguay neighborhood. Photo depicts when the clothing items are placed in a pile on the floor so the tourists can pose with their “donation,” a moment that produced negative feelings among the Astro communities.

Unfortunately, the exclusion did not end with the communities realizing that they had made a mistake in allowing Bienvenue to take advantage of them, which was a realization that was made and a healthy one according to Natalie. In fact Natalie reported that she found that the experience with Bienvenue taught the communities that they need to advocate more on their own behalf and to identify and set their terms. Thus, the silver lining in terms of social inclusion is the potential empowerment that the Bienvenue experience inspired. However, that empowerment did little for the communities’ long term inclusion via tourism.

The following year, Arnaud went back to Astro when planning the trip for his French clients. This time the communities were prepared and a meeting took place on a weekday morning in February to start discussing the terms of the visit. Renata, the community leader of Calafate, and the one who took the reins over Astro in Natalie’s absence was the only Astro



representative besides Natalie who was present at the meeting with Arnaud. Although Renata was not as explicit with Arnaud about her dislike for what had happened the previous year as she had been in Astro meetings, she did manage to let him know that things would not proceed as they had the year before and that the communities would discuss the terms of the visit and get back to him. One point she made very strongly was that she did not like that the tourists did not make a single purchase in the communities, even bringing in their beverages rather than patronizing local businesses. She and Natalie also let Arnaud know that it was not possible to categorically exclude Plataforma, that all the communities in Astro get the opportunity to participate equally.

Bienvenue was looking for an overnight visit this time, something none of the communities had done before. Over the course of the next month the communities brainstormed different ideas before each settling on the terms of an overnight visit. Calafate requested payment of \$R25 per person (12USD) for the tour and that each tourist brings a twin-sized mattress a minimum cost of \$R30 (15USD) to be donated to the community after using for the overnight. None of the meals would be included this time, but a snack would be offered. There would be capoeira for the tourists to watch at night. Uruguai was uncertain they would have a place for the tourists to sleep and Alto do Cabrito was certain they did not, and thus did not establish any terms. Plataforma also requested \$R25 for the tour and then said that they could arrange a stay in a nearby hostel for \$R40 (20USD) or they could stay at their community center for \$R35 (\$17USD) per person. They also said that they would coordinate a cooking lesson in their community center and potentially a soccer game. Meals by a member of the community could be arranged for an additional fee. All-in-all the communities were asking for about \$30USD per person to include a tour with cultural activities and lodging. Meals would be arranged either by

the tourists or for an additional fee. Once Bienvenue reported these terms to its client, the response was to cancel the entire overnight endeavor. The French youth did not end up visiting the Astro communities. Thus, once the Astro communities started to make their demands, they were rejected and further excluded from the tourism opportunity.

The issue of setting terms is something that came up over and over again with the Astro communities in regards to tourism. The feeling that they do not have the ability to set their own terms is a major challenge to them and one that can lead them to pull away from tourism. Moreover, if they are not engaging in tourism on their terms, tourism will never produce inclusion, for inclusion can only come about if those seeking inclusion are satisfied with the conditions of their inclusion (Levine, Moreland and Hausmann, 2005). Renata, the most involved of the Astro community representatives discussed this issue at length with me during an interview. She talked about how tourism brings a source of pride to the community of Calafate and residents are more motivated to keep the neighborhood clean. However, she worries that it is a fine line between doing that and then allowing tourism to dictate their lives. “Há uma diferença entre turismo comunitario e turismo na comunidade.” (There’s a difference between community tourism and tourism in the community.) By this she means that community tourism actually implies that the community dynamic is what tourists are coming to see and the tourism centers around the needs of the community. Tourism in the community does not have the community as the central focus, and for that reason, the tourism can end up bringing significant changes to the customs and practices of the community. As Boonratana confirms, it is essential to CBT that the community maintains its traditions (2010).

Whether Calafate maintains its traditions is something that Renata fears in regards to tourism. She said that during the Bienvenue tour to Calafate they ended up having to make a lot

of changes in order to give them the experience they wanted. For example, they put on a capoeira demonstration on a weekday, when capoeira happens on Sundays in Calafate. They had people playing music for the tourists during the day, when that is something that occurs at night. “Tudo foi arrumado para a visita dos Franceses.” (Everything was arranged in a contrived manner for the visit of the French tourists). To her, this is not an inclusive arrangement in which the customs and practices of the community are accepted and appreciated. Instead, the community exists solely to serve the tourists what they want and in doing this, their customs are devalued and the community is further excluded. Renata would like to see a tourism experience emerge in which the community could continue to exist as it always had rather than arrange everything in the community according to what tourists want. As Rendon and Bidwell discuss regarding tourism in the Colca Valley in Peru (2015), in cases where the local people are unable to maintain their traditions while simultaneously attracting tourists, tourism has not brought about social inclusion.

Renata further emphasized her worry that tourism will require the community to conform too much using the fact that the Bienvenue tour to Calafate got a late start because the tourists arrived late. They then wanted the community to cater to their new schedule. For example, the original plan was to have a capoeira demonstration before lunch, but because of the late start, the tourists wanted to eat first. Renata reported that some of the community members were willing to oblige this. However, Renata disagreed saying that they should keep the original schedule and not make the capoeiristas wait any longer just because the tourists were late. Ultimately the tourists ended up staying longer than planned because of their late start, which Renata found abusive.

Overall Renata thinks that tourists have the tendency to take advantage of the residents’

hospitality. For that reason, she consciously tries to avoid putting residents in those situations when leading tours. She talked about a time that a tour was visiting during Holy Week, a week that prompts both religious observance and family meals in Brazil. The tourists wanted to go into the home of someone preparing food. Renata knew that if she asked one of her neighbors, the neighbor would feel obliged to say yes, but she did not want to put her neighbor in that position, so she denied this opportunity to the tourists. Renata's awareness of the potential for abuse, allows her to protect her fellow residents, but it is also true that without conforming to tourists' demands, there may be no tourism at all. Renata says, it is all about evaluating what you are getting vs. what you are giving up.

Natalie is aware that the overall lack of interest in touring the communities puts the communities in a difficult situation. She said that the communities often have to take what they can get, even if that means conforming. She also admits, however, that a lot of times tourists' availability for a tour does not coincide with what they are interested in seeing. For example, the tourists cannot come on a Saturday hoping to do a school visit, as schools are not in session. Even tourists are generally aware that school on a Saturday is not the norm. They may not know, however, that capoeira happens on Sundays, that *acarajé* is sold in the evenings, and people do not hang around playing instruments during the day. If those things are not happening when they are there, then what are the tourists going to see? In order to attract tourists, there does need to be something worth seeing, doing or buying, or tourists will not come.

The community representative from Alto do Cabrito who runs a theater organization for youth is plainly aware of how her organization and its customs do not conform to tourists' desires. Her organization puts on theater pieces at night. They cannot do daytime performances during the week because the children are in school. While tourists may be interested in attending

their performances, getting to Alto do Cabrito at night is both challenging and dangerous. I already described my experience going there in the morning, and nighttime public transportation is far more sporadic. Moreover, venturing into an unknown area at night anywhere in Salvador is not advisable. A marginal community may not present any greater risk than central areas of the city in terms of people committing crimes; however, because of its lack of centrality, anything that does happen may be more severe in that it would be harder to obtain assistance or return to where one is staying. Thus, Alto do Cabrito is not in a position to conform to tourists, and tourists are not in a position to visit Alto do Cabrito for its interesting events. This explains why Alto do Cabrito does not generate much tourism.

The issue of conforming or not to tourists is an extremely challenging one in terms of prompting inclusion. To conform, opens the door to being exploited and thus feeling devalued and not included as an equal contributor to society. However, to not conform runs the risk of not being a competitive attraction, one of the pitfalls Costa Mielke (2012) reports is common to CBT. If they do not attract tourists the communities may still feel devalued and will be excluded from tourism and the potential economic and cultural benefits it brings. For this reason, there is an ideal segment of tourists that low-income tourism originating in the community should be aiming to attract. That segment are the tourists whose attraction to visiting the community is solely to be supportive and experience the day-to-day of the community without needing the added activities (Fiorello and Bo, 2012; Boonratana, 2010). These tourists do exist, but what some of the Astro representatives have found is that these tourists, often are not willing to invest financially in their visit. Cristian, one of the representatives from Uruguai says that the outcome of community-based tourism needs to be a product that the community can benefit from, otherwise it is only the tourist who benefits and does not invest in the community. Alicia, the

representative from Alto do Cabrito, said that one of the reasons she agreed to get involved in the tourism portion of Astro was because prior to Astro, they were getting tourists to come to the community who were not leaving anything for the community. She wanted to give more structure to the tourism in her community so that there would be a tangible return. While social inclusion can occur in a variety of formats: financial, cultural validation, empowerment, official recognition and access to resources, the most immediately useful of those is arguably financial. Therefore, it is particularly important to the communities that they receive tourists who are willing to make the financial investment. The fact that many tourists are not interested in that, further complicates obtaining social inclusion.

The issue of investing time over money highlights a number of problematic tendencies for both tourists and community residents alike. First of all, for the tourists it demonstrates a tendency to treat the communities as a charity case in which their attention to the community is payment enough. An attitude like this is patronizing and inherently devalues the community. It suggests that the communities do not have a legitimate claim to tourism, but certain “compassionate” people are willing to go along with the act to make them feel important. Arnaud and his clients adopted this stance when they brought clothing rather than payment and Arnaud further substantiated his position in an e-mail to the Astro communities defending himself against the criticism that he does not understand what solidarity tourism is, based on the experience of tours from July and August. Arnaud wrote,

Foi Bienvenue que incluiu esse intercambio em Salvador. Esses grupos vem seguidamente a Bahia desde 2008, sem antes realizar nenhuma ação solidaria. Em 2011, começamos a inserir esta ideia aqui em Morro de São Paulo e o entusiasmo dos participantes cresceu. Expandimos para Salvador com o objetivo de fazer um movimento maior entre os jovens dos dois países. (It was Bienvenue [and he is the head of that agency] that included this exchange in Salvador. These groups were coming continually to Bahia since 2008, without ever having participated in a solidarity activity. In 2011, we began to include this idea here in Morro de Sao Paulo [an island near Salvador where

Bienvenue is based] and the enthusiasm of the participants grew. We expanded to Salvador with the objective of making a stronger connection between the youth of the two countries.)

Arnaud's statement in which he clearly points out his instrumental role in bringing the tourists into the communities, combined with the reality of the experience that took place in the Astro communities in July and August, demonstrates his perception that by their mere presence, tourists are showing solidarity with the communities. The fact that he felt it appropriate for his clients not to pay for their visit illustrates that he does not feel that the communities have a legitimate tourism product.

Bienvenue is not the only organization that adopts this stance in relationship to tourism to low-income communities. As mentioned, Alto do Cabrito was seeing tourists do that on visits to their center. Another tourist with whom I accompanied to spend the night at Reginaldo's posada, (the shanty-home overlooking the Bay, in a low-income area with hammocks for beds) could not believe that Reginaldo would charge for such an experience, exclaiming that "he should pay me for coming here." The belief that getting a taste of an underprivileged life is not an experience that should be paid for is widespread. These places may be worth investment of time and labor, through visits and volunteering, but they are not worth money.

The tendency of tourists to feel this way is exacerbated by the tendency for residents of low-income communities to express awe and gratitude because foreigners have taken an interest in them. This is something that I personally have experienced on different occasions in Brazil, both in and out of Salvador. My perception of this is corroborated by specific experiences in the Astro communities as well as comments made by Astro representatives. During my first visit to Calafate, as Renata and I were walking back to her house, there were some primary school girls outside. One came over to say hi to Renata and Renata introduced me telling her I was from the

U.S. The girl immediately called out to her friend, “Ela é Americana!” (She is American!) who then came running over. Both girls seemed to want to be near me. Alicia, the community representative from Alto do Cabrito, also talked about how the youth she works with are very excited to have visitors to their communities, to the degree that when it does not work out, as in the case with the Bienvenue tour, they are very disappointed. In the case of Bienvenue, Alicia said she felt the need to justify her decision not to participate because of the disappointment.

With these types of reactions from residents, it is easy to understand why tourists feel that they are already doing a lot just by showing up. However, this type of excitement and adoration for foreign visitors, which is perhaps more common from children, but not exclusive to children, has roots in the colonial period where the goal of colonization was not to establish a new civilization, but rather extract resources and maintain connections to the Portuguese monarchy (Ramos 2004). Slavery, the latifundia system and later a policy of *branqueamento* (whitening), further solidified European cultural superiority when white people of European heritage held the positions of power in Brazil and the government of the First Republic encouraged immigration from Europe so as to whiten the Brazilian population to minimize the negative effects of a mixed race and dark-skinned population. Underneath the adoration is the perception that foreigners are superior, thus representing self-loathing. That self-loathing does not contribute to fostering social inclusion, and especially not when the tourists feed into it by accepting this attitude as meaning that their mere interest in the children and their communities is payment enough. Rather, it perpetuates a social order which maintains people in low-income communities on the margins.

Breaking through this situation can also be challenging as a tourist because being aware of the colonial and self-disparaging undertones of the adoration reflects privilege—the privilege to



understand history and psychology in a way that some of the residents do not. Thus, responding to the underlying issues rather than the feelings expressed by the residents can also take on a paternalistic air of deciding what is best for another individual. However, the Astro representatives and other community members, do understand the issue. They recognize the roots of this tendency and reject it. Their awareness was one of the reasons they had such an adverse reaction to Bienvenue and why they often act to protect their neighbors even when their neighbors would be excited to host the tourists. So when tourists accept and act on the idea that their attention is sufficient payment, some members of the community are going to find this unsatisfying and to be an act of further exclusion. Those that do feel that tourists' attention is validation and thus an opportunity to feel socially included, are entitled to that feeling, but more likely it is encouraging the self-loathing and further exclusion mentioned above, and at best the inclusion that is felt is minimal and unlikely to bring any significant social change. In this way, we can see the unwillingness to financially invest in the tourism experience of low-income neighborhoods as an act that will bring further exclusion rather than inclusion.

While financial investment provides the most tangible tools for feeling included, not meeting other social inclusion criteria also has an effect on residents' experience of tourism and whether it met their expectations. Cultural validation, like financial investment, tends to be immediate and based on resident-tourist interaction and also has an important role in whether tourism has prompted social inclusion. When tourists are not investing genuine time and attention, the communities pick-up on this. Such was the case during the Bienvenue visit to Plataforma, when the tourists seemed uninterested in the tour and did not make an effort to connect with the youth. Renata was also put off by Bienvenue's visit to Calafate because she said the tourists opted not to visit what Calafate refers to as the Place of Memory. This is the

museum-like space in Renata's home that tells the history of the neighborhood. Both the history, as well as the preservation of the objects and stories is a source of pride to Renata. The tourists' lack of interest, devalued the community, its culture and its history. To really accomplish inclusion in a tourist-community encounter, in addition to financial investment there is a need for their to be a genuine interaction and exchange that occurs between the tourists and the residents.

#### **4.4.3 Patterns of power of outsiders**

Community-based tourism and other forms of tourism that originate or are run by the community prompts a lot of optimism in generating social inclusion because it is based on the idea that the community members themselves are the ones behind the tourism endeavor and thus participating on their own terms (Mitchell and Reid, 2001). The reality, at least in Salvador, is that there are always people outside the community who have a role in the process. Those include, for example, government officials who are the gatekeepers to officially recognizing these tourist endeavors as well as many (often) well-intentioned professionals who are trying to support the communities' projects. The actions and roles of these outsiders, intentional or not, also have an impact on the tourism endeavors and whether they are successfully facilitating social inclusion. Moreover, because some of these people have played such an instrumental role in the communities' tourism projects, it is crucial to highlight their impacts.

For all low-income communities trying to establish tourism, tourism officials are outsiders who play an important role in validating their efforts. While tourism officials from both the city and state governments are open to CBT, they are not very knowledgeable about what it is about and how it can flourish. This lack of knowledge can translate into a lack of support, interfering with its ability to succeed and generate social inclusion. For example, as mentioned, SALTUR, the tourism company of Salvador that receives public funding, originally described CBT as

visiting needy communities, according to Natalie. Luckily, in this case, this lack of knowledge was addressed and corrected before going public. SALTUR also only mentions the Astro communities, leaving out the other communities involved in CBT. Natalie also reports, that the president of SALTUR likes to take credit for developing CBT even though he has never visited any of the Astro communities himself. Taking credit for something the communities are doing is disempowering, and ultimately, when the knowledge is so superficial and the support does not run very deep, the government officials are using their power to detract from the social inclusion potential of CBT. Further evidence of government officials' lack of knowledge is seen in comments made by both city and state government tourism officials in interviews with me that there are some places in Salvador that do not have anything worthy of tourist attention. The city government official said this is the case for the Astro CBT neighborhoods, while the state government representative said that this goes for all residential neighborhoods. The state-level representative went on to say that they cannot go creating things to attract tourists because that would be perceived as inauthentic. While these comments may be accurate for describing the majority of tourists, there are tourists who seek alternative experiences that low-income communities can offer. Moreover, regarding authenticity, there is a wide range of the types of authenticity tourists seek (Shepherd, 2015; Fixler, 2008; Wang, 1999), and it is not necessarily the case that just because something is created it would be perceived as inauthentic. These officials' strict adherence to traditional perceptions of tourists will not benefit CBT in the long run.

Beyond officials, communities implementing tourism contend with other outsiders including the different people who provide advice and support. Those include people like Natalie, who founded Astro and still holds a prominent role in the organization, and academics

like Roberto, a tourism student and professional who originally put me in touch with Astro, Marla, a professor at the State University of Bahia (UNEB) who coordinates CBT with a number of peripheral communities in Salvador, and myself as a student conducting research, but also trying to give something back by virtue of my tourism “expertise.” Our outsider status and the power we wield as experts plays a role in the success of the community tourism projects to facilitate social inclusion.

Starting with Natalie, she is often aware of her potential to disempower the community representatives of Astro through her active presence. Nonetheless, in a meeting where she discussed the possibility of her stepping back, one of the community representatives adamantly argued, and no one disagreed, that Natalie was a necessity to the organization. There is no doubt that at times her presence hinders the community representatives from taking action on their own, but her presence has also facilitated the coming together of these different organizations and establishing tourism and other goals.

Roberto, who volunteers his time to Astro and has a long-standing affiliation with the organization, is a strong advocate for solidarity tourism and what the communities are working on. His willingness to work with the communities is generous and undoubtedly provides assistance and support to them. However, his strong position occasionally leads him to push his views very hard on the communities and even on potential clients. The most glaring of those moments was when e-mails were circulating among Astro including its affiliates Natalie, Roberto and myself and Bienvenue about hosting the French organization the second time and what sort of payment should be expected. In one e-mail, Roberto made strong and patronizing comments, such as “nosso querido amigo Arnaud” (our dear friend Arnaud) criticizing Arnaud’s lack of knowledge of what solidarity tourism is. From the information in the e-mail it would

appear, however this is not certain, that Roberto did not mean to leave Arnaud copied or did not realize he was copied. Whether copying Arnaud was intentional or not does not change the fact that Roberto was representing the communities when he sent that message and it was not a diplomatic way of dealing with a client. Ultimately Bienvenue did not pursue the visit to the Astro communities and that decision may have been influenced by Roberto's comments. Thus, as an outsider, not only does Roberto's voice and opinions potentially overpower those of the community members, but when not being careful when speaking on behalf of the community, he can jeopardize their opportunities.

Marla, like Roberto has an agenda to pursue regarding community-based tourism. As a university professor she is working to establish CBT projects throughout the city and is collaborating with a number of people and communities to do that. She schedules meetings in different peripheral communities to strategize and plan for CBT and she has held conferences to bring people working on CBT together. She is clearly very active and sincerely dedicated to seeing CBT projects come to fruition in Salvador. However, in her pursuit to create model CBT projects, she has assumed a role of gatekeeper to the title of CBT, disempowering the community members working more independently from her. Specifically, she publicly declared in a meeting where Astro community representatives were present, that what they were doing was not CBT. She justified this saying that the Astro communities are receiving too much outside assistance from Natalie and Roberto, and they allowed themselves to be exploited by Bienvenue, thus not following a CBT model. While tourism scholarship has acknowledged the need to be cautious with the label CBT (Boonratana, 2010; Dolezal, 2011), Marla's comments caused significant distress in Astro leading to many conversations about how to label themselves. Calafate actually discussed the issue of how to refer to their tourism in a community meeting, and ultimately

decided they would refer to it as community tourism, not the more specific *community-based tourism*. When explaining this decision, Renata said, “CBT, turismo comunitário, tudo faz. É o nome só.” (CBT, community tourism, either one will do. It is just a name.) However, another representative from Calafate felt more strongly that the term CBT, which they had identified with from the beginning, was being taken from them. Marla’s position of power as a university professor essentially made the communities back down from using the label, and of course, it is not just a name. Names, words, and labels have power (Foucault, 1972), and the label CBT is no exception.

The label CBT insinuates that the tourism project is originating in and benefitting the community. Being able to claim a CBT label helps attract tourists who are looking to engage in a form of humanitarian tourism that provides benefits to the communities. Community tourism does not have that same connotation (Boonratana, 2010), thus tourists making a quick decision about what type of community-benefitting tour to participate in, are likely to opt for something that has the more clear, CBT label. Moreover, there is no perfect consensus on what CBT actually is, as the literature review on CBT indicates. Academics, practitioners, community members, all have different ideas. Even if Astro receives outside advice, decisions are ultimately made by the community members. Marla also provides outside support to communities, and she still refers to those projects as CBT. In regards to the exploitation, the fact that Astro had a negative experience with a tour agency, one that also made them feel bad, should not preclude them from CBT status. As mentioned in the chapter two, not knowing how to set prices is very common for communities getting started on CBT (Garcia Lucchetti and Font, 2013). Given that this was the first tour the Astro communities arranged completely on their own, it is understandable that it did not go well; and as Natalie says, they did learn from the experience.

For that reason, Marla's assertion of which communities should be able to call their tourism projects CBT and which should not, does a severe disservice to the communities. In doing this, she actually further excludes and marginalizes the Astro communities.

I, too, had my agenda to accomplish when working with the communities: collecting data from all parties involved. This was, at times tricky to navigate because by allying myself too closely with the other tourists, especially the French organization could have interfered with building a relationship with Astro. In fact, during the visit to Plataforma a sentiment of skepticism towards me was expressed when I was asked to take a photo for Arnaud of the clothing donation and I acquiesced. Afterwards one of the Astro representatives asked if I had taken a picture and I realized that my loyalties were in question. My taking the picture may have made the Astro representatives feel excluded from the global group of tourists who seemingly work together. Months later, when Arnaud met with Astro to discuss the upcoming visit of the French organization, I was more prepared to advocate for Astro. Advocacy potentially can empower and validate by showing that others agree with the low-income residents' goals and beliefs, but advocacy also can disempower when the person speaks too much or speaks instead of the community members. During that meeting I realized that Renata, the only Astro community representative present was not as vocal to Arnaud about her discontent with Bienvenue as she had been in Astro meetings. I interpreted this as a bit of discomfort in admitting that some of the actions of Bienvenue had been offensive. I did feel in that case, my advocacy would help to communicate an important message about the inappropriate actions of posing with the donations. I reminded Arnaud that that since the French organization was not paying any money for the tour, the clothing was like a payment. One would never never take a picture of him/herself paying for a service, so why were they doing it? He accepted this, but had a hard time

understanding why the youth should not pass around their old stuffed animals when the little kids of the neighborhood liked it and it made the French youth feel good. I finally convinced him that if they really felt like they wanted to give the stuffed animals they could do it in a better way, like distributing them fairly and to the parents of the kids, who could decide when the kids could have them. Later, Renata did open up a little more to Arnaud, so I do not feel that I overstepped or took away her opportunity to speak. Nevertheless, the possibility is always there when an advocate feels strongly about getting a point across, and others could interpret my behavior differently.

In all of these cases it is impossible to say whether the role of the outsiders brought more or less inclusion because in each case, there was well-intentioned support that did propel tourism projects at times. Still, the outsiders all represent a different scale than that of the local residents. Whether it is having more education, a position of authority, or international cultural capital, the outsiders are more connected and thus wield a greater degree of power in relationship to the community members in most instances. This is a liability to fostering social inclusion. Unless that power is kept in check, which may mean not pushing for one's own goals or ideas so hard, it potentially will undo any progress towards social inclusion.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

As illustrated by all of the challenges that tourism faces, even once it has been arranged, its success in fostering inclusion for locals is rare. It usually requires both a financial investment as well as reciprocal interest between both tourists and residents. When these moments occur, there is hope that tourism really can be the conduit for social inclusion for low-income communities. Several of the Astro communities have experienced those successful moments. In Calafate, Renata talked about a group from California that visited and ran a photography workshop for the



residents. The photos that residents took were then put on T-shirts that the group sold when they were back in California and then sent the money to Calafate. By working together, providing a skills training and then assisting the residents to turn their product into something that could make money, the tourists were able to provide cultural validation at least on a global level, empowerment, and financial return for the community, which contributes to social inclusion locally. Alto do Cabrito discussed an experience pre-Astro in which a group of youth percussionists from Holland visited the neighborhood and actually performed with the youth of Alto do Cabrito. Although that was before they had any formal tourism arrangement, the Dutch tour group did make a donation to Alicia's theater organization. Both the music exchange as well as the donation provided solid pathways to inclusion by showing that all the youth were equals that could play together while still providing some tangible benefits to the theater organization. In this case, social inclusion is evident on both local and global levels as well by providing the tangible benefits. Those financial resources helped in the local economy while playing together positioned the youth as equals to their Dutch counterparts, providing global social inclusion. The second Bienvenue tour to Uruguai still had some of the same dynamics as the ones to Plataforma and Calafate; however, the arrangement with Uruguai, a community that is a little more easy-going about the issues of exploitation, actually fostered a more cohesive dynamic among the youth. In Uruguai, both the residents and tourists had prepared cultural presentations for each other. After each group took a turn, the youth who knew how, from both communities, performed breakdancing together. After dancing together, it was snack time and all the breakdancers, both tourists and residents, sat together at the same table. More of both groups joined them and soon many of the youth were interacting and sharing social media contact information. The representative from Uruguai, Cristian, talked about how this was a

positive experience for the local youth who months later were still in contact with the French youth and may be motivated to seek opportunities to travel after seeing how the French visited them. Thus, even though there was not a financial investment, a genuine exchange between the two groups also facilitated feelings of social inclusion, primarily at a global level, but that also contributes to greater empowerment locally.

Some low-income communities in Salvador are legitimately turning to tourism to be a conduit of a larger process of social inclusion. Unfortunately internal and external obstacles exist merely just to get tourism up and running in those communities, and then, even as tourism occurs, there are a lot of barriers to actually providing a path to social inclusion. Tourists have certain expectations that do not always reflect the reality of what exists in a low-income community and residents become disappointed by how much effort and change is required for so little return. Moreover, outsiders, despite providing support at times can also interfere with social inclusion. The few successful examples demonstrate that there is hope for tourism. Projects in which the tourists and the locals work together to bring economic benefits, validate the culture and traditions of the community, and empower the residents, all of which contribute to social inclusion. As these types of tourism increase, inclusion within the community will grow with more residents getting involved and working together. In addition, inclusion into the city more broadly will also grow as government officials and other residents recognize the value of these communities providing them with greater access to the city's resources. In order for all this to happen, it is important for the communities to increasingly consider ways to bring in tourism without giving up too much in terms of time or traditions. In addition, it is important for outsiders: tourists, tour agents, professionals, government officials, etc. to be increasingly exposed to the potential for social inclusion for low income communities via tourism and the

reality of what tourism to those communities looks like. Next we turn to some of these outsiders, some cosmopolitan-oriented tourists, to see, what their own quest for social inclusion looks like in Salvador before evaluating how these different desires for inclusion intersect.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **SOCIAL INCLUSION OF TOURISTS**

Tourists' quest for social inclusion via tourism has been far less-considered than that of local people. One reason for this is that social inclusion has been taken to refer to underprivileged people looking to gain greater access to the whole of society. Such people tend to be excluded in both material and immaterial terms, and thus social inclusion often has a social justice angle in seeking ways to bring about greater equality in society. As the previous chapter explores, this aspect of social inclusion: providing greater opportunities for marginalized populations, is very important to the study of tourism. Many people have expectations for tourism to provide greater opportunities, so knowing where the challenges lie helps to manage expectations and assists in the implementation of tourism projects. However, social inclusion can be considered more broadly in relationship to tourism beyond the inclusion of marginal populations. Tourists seeking an in-depth experience in the local culture are often looking to be included in their host families, in the organizations where they volunteer and as members of a community. This desire for inclusion goes hand-in-hand with global citizen aspirations of acquiring cultural competence by being able to adapt to new cultures to the point of developing meaningful relationships (Conran 2011), being accepted (Urry 2000) and making a difference in the host society (Snee 2014). This chapter will provide evidence of cosmopolitan tourist's desires for social inclusion as well as the outcome of those desires, but first, I will discuss how tourists' inclusion fits into the broader literature on social inclusion.

#### **5.1 Social inclusion of tourists in the literature**

Despite the benefits of evaluating tourists' social inclusion, considering social inclusion for

tourists is challenging for a number of reasons. First, this is because of the term's unquestioned link to marginalized, underprivileged populations in tourism literature. Tourists, although they face certain challenges at times, are generally not considered underprivileged. However, they are on the margins at times and they are categorically less powerful than local people in certain situations. This is not to say that their lack of social inclusion is as egregious or even problematic in comparison to the lack of social inclusion for local people in a destination, and that is not the point of identifying tourists' desires and struggles for social inclusion. Rather, the point is to see how simultaneous quests for social inclusion play out in the realm of tourism, what the similarities and differences are, and how expectations for social inclusion for one group have an impact on the quest for social inclusion of the other.

A second reason why exploring social inclusion for tourists is challenging is because what they want to be included in is an abstract idea that combines different units. Unlike social inclusion for underprivileged people, where their claim to inclusion is substantiated by their positions as citizens or residents of a city, state or country and therefore, if nothing else, are looking for full inclusion in those geopolitical entities, tourists' claim to inclusion is not as straightforward. Less than inclusion in the city, state or country tourists are looking for inclusion into the general social milieu that can be obtained through inclusion on a variety of fronts: inclusion in a local household, an organization, a neighborhood/community, etc. The abstract and multiple nature of tourists' desire for inclusion makes it more difficult to pin down, but also opens up the opportunity to explore the many areas where tourists seek inclusion.

Finally, it is difficult to study social inclusion of tourists due to the fact that since the term inclusion tends to be reserved for a different demographic, the language used, both in academic literature as well as in tourism material rarely speaks explicitly of inclusion in reference to

tourists. Thus, it is necessary to look at the implicit references to inclusion. Those references can be found in discussions on global citizenship as well as on tourists' immersion and integration into the host culture. In this way the analysis of social inclusion ties into the these broader areas in academic literature.

Global citizenship literature suggests that social inclusion is part of the process when it discusses the rights and responsibilities associated with global citizenship. Urry (2000) famously outlined, and other scholars have echoed the rights for global citizens: to be mobile and have comparable rights to the citizens of wherever one is; to carry one's culture with one and encounter other cultures; to have access to full cultural participation within the world, including to possess information and knowledge and to communicate; to buy products from other cultures and allow them to find a place within one's own culture, to consume the places one visits including the people, culture and environment; and to face relatively risk-free environments, being able to navigate them without having to rely on untrustworthy systems (Urry, 2000a; Molz, 2006). Having comparable rights, full cultural participation, consuming the culture, etc. all point to a degree of being included in the society where one is visiting. Accompanying those rights are the following responsibilities: to find out and be aware of the state of the world through "internationalized" sources; to live in a way that promotes ethics and sustainability; to act in terms of global rather than local or national public interest and proselytize this approach among other people; and to "demonstrate a stance of cosmopolitanism towards other environments, other cultures and other peoples" which includes consuming or not consuming other cultures depending on the wider impact (Urry, 2000a, p 175, Molz, 2006). Because of the system of rights and responsibilities, for some, assuming the the responsibilities of a global citizen creates expectations to also have the rights as one, including being socially included or accepted.

In addition to global citizenship literature, the idea of tourists' social inclusion can also be found in tourism literature, both scholarly and practical, that discuss tourists' immersion and integration. Immersion is frequently a part of the conversation in tourism, especially certain types of tourism that are designed to give tourists an in-depth insight into the culture and/or language of the destination. In fact, immersion can refer to either culture or language and both cultural or linguistic immersion do not necessarily have to occur simultaneously. In other words, a person can seek language immersion without necessarily wanting cultural immersion. For example, language immersion could include a group of people from the U.S. going to Salvador and staying in a dorm, taking classes together, eating together, etc. all the while speaking Portuguese, but not getting that cultural insight because they are with others from the U.S. Cultural immersion can happen irrespective of language immersion if the tourists are engaged in local customs but not concentrating on speaking the language. For example, if the U.S. tourists live with families and lunch the typical Brazilian "Prato Feito" each day, but do so with each other while speaking English, they will not have the language immersion component, but would still have a cultural immersion.

In academic literature, immersion often comes up in research related to study abroad or other educational tourism programs. For example, in her extensive research on study abroad experiences, Neriko Doerr has published a number of articles related to immersion. She has put forth the idea that there is a discourse of immersion that includes the privileging of homestays over other accommodations, out-of-classroom learning rather than in-class learning, and hanging out with locals rather than with fellow tourists (Doerr 2014, 2013, 2012). This discourse reifies differences between home and host cultures, where home becomes global and dynamic while host is parochial and static (2013). In each case the culture is represented as homogenous due to

the discourse. She argues that this is problematic because it de-territorializes the tourists while re-territorializing the hosts, the latter of which is disempowering for the hosts (2013). She further contends that the discourse of immersion is a problem because it leads to the view that “the nation-state is the only unit of meaningful difference” (2014, p 70). She also talks about how immersion is a way of learning that is seen as superior in study abroad because it supposedly leads to global competence (2015a). However, she contests that immersion is superior by providing examples of tourists who studied abroad and learned among other tourists or in the classroom (2015)a. In addition she disagrees with the claim that immersion leads to global competence because of its role in disempowering locals who become “unwitting teachers” (2013). Rather she suggests that to really achieve global competence, tourists participating in study abroad should “connect with people they meet” and learn about each other as human beings rather than representatives of their respective “culture” (2013, p 240). She contrasts this with what is advocated by the discourse of immersion.

Other scholars have highlighted other important parts about immersion. Cohan, citing a 2008 survey conducted by McGehee, Clemmons and Lee, says that among volunteer tourists, immersion is one of four general motivating categories (2010). Woolf (2006) points out that U.S. students are hardly being immersed when they have access to and use resources that the locals do not, like laptops, and have a completely different lifestyle, like their ability to travel around on the weekends. Laubscher, writing in 1994, talks about the living laboratory that students can immerse themselves in when doing a program like study abroad. He advocates that students converse with locals, but do not develop too close of relationships because it will eschew their objective learning about another culture and instead will merely teach them about the person. Lu’s research points out that immersion for tourists is often equated with authenticity



(2009). One of her research subjects claims that she wanted to volunteer abroad in order to “experience how Africa *was truly like*,” (emphasis mine) (2009, p 489). Others sought an “authentic encounter” (Luh 2009, p. 489). Seeing something ‘truly’ is like getting at the authenticity of the place. Ogden (2006) demonstrates that immersion in academic literature is also linked to authenticity. In pointing out that students often stay within their “American bubbles” when studying abroad, even to the point that their professors are often Americans, removes students “from having a cultural authentic academic experience” (Ogden 2006, p 88). Thus, there is a tendency to think that there is some kind of real or authentic thing to be immersed into. Ogden also points out that immersion, “after many years,” will lead the person being immersed to internalize local behaviors becoming “bicultural and at ease in the new cultural system” (2006, p 98). This suggests that tourists intending to immerse themselves should not expect to change their behaviors and attitudes overnight.

In both cultural and linguistic immersion, there is no inherent connection to inclusion. Immersion is a state that relies on one’s surroundings, but does not require direct action or acknowledgement from any other human being outside of an unusual circumstance.- In this way, immersion is something that an individual has control over. Therefore, immersion should be differentiated from conditions, like inclusion, that rely on how other people or a system responds to an individual in addition to whether or not the individual agrees with the inclusion criteria (Levine, Moreland and Hausmann, 2005), and thus the individual does not have complete control. However, this is not always what happens in tourism literature, as there is a strong tendency to conflate cultural immersion with other conditions like inclusion or integration that are outside of the complete control of the tourist.

In tourism practice and theory, the term immersion often refers to conditions that go

beyond immersion. For example, Hovey and Weinberg say that “high road study abroad programs are developed to ensure deep cultural and linguistic immersion...High road programs ensure that students become part of the culture by staying with local families and giving back to local communities” (2009 p 37). Hovey and Weinberg are describing immersion by suggesting that the tourists actually become “part of the culture.” Just as being immersed in water, does not require one to become part of the water, being immersed in a culture does not require becoming part of the culture. To become part of something necessitates agreement on both sides that one is indeed a part of the group. Therefore, what Hovey and Weinberg are describing actually goes beyond immersion and could be considered inclusion, which does require both parties to agree on the terms of inclusion (Levine, Moreland & Hausmann, 2005).

Another example of conflating immersion with another condition is in Goldoni (2013). In her article entitled, “Students’ Immersion Experiences in Study Abroad,” Goldoni states, “The purpose of this study was to analyze how truly intensive the academic study abroad experience is for students, what strategies students use so as to become *more fully integrated* into the new culture...” (emphasis mine) (p 361). Throughout the article Goldoni uses the words immersion and integration interchangeably as if to be immersed is also to be integrated. Integration, like inclusion, is a condition that requires acknowledgement and acceptance on both sides. In other words, it goes beyond immersion where one has direct control, and does require agreement by the individual seeking integration and the group offering it.

Among other usages, integration is frequently a part of the discussion used to talk about people on the move and their relationship to the dominant culture. Specifically, “integration has become a main way to talk about immigrant-group inclusion” and often it is used specifically to contrast with the term ‘assimilation’, a term that implies that cultural change and accepting

difference only occur for the newcomers (Alba and Foner 2015 p 7). Therefore, when using integration to talk about migration, to which tourism, especially the longer-term variety that is examined in this project, is related, integration is a term that highlights the fact that both the newcomers and the members of the host society make changes and accommodate the other in the process of integration. Furthermore, the newcomers, in order to be integrated, do not need to abandon all of their own cultural practices and tendencies for that to happen. Dovidio, Gaertner, Hodson, Houlette, and Johnson speaking more generally about intergroup boundaries, put forth that integration and assimilation, along with separatism and marginalization are the four adaptation strategies (2005). Integration and assimilation are alike in that they both refer to strategies where “positive relations with the larger society are sought;” however, they differ in that integration allows for cultural identities to be retained while assimilation is when they are abandoned (Dovidio, et al., 2005, pp. 250-251). Vermeulen and Penninx further emphasize the point that both sides are involved in integration and that one can be integrated despite having different customs, when noting that in some European countries, integration has replaced assimilation to reflect the “greater degree of tolerance and respect for ethnocultural differences” (Alba and Foner, 2015, p 7). It is key, then to integration, that it is a process that is not one-sided, but rather involves some give-and-take from both sides.

Integration is often paired with the idea of social inclusion/exclusion. The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations has an online community on migration that is titled, “Integration: Building Inclusive Societies” (<http://www.unaoc.org/ibis/about/>). The idea of the online community is to provide support and resources for encouraging the integration of migrants. The implication in the title of the project suggests that when integration occurs, inclusion occurs, suggesting that inclusion is on the path to integration. The idea that inclusion comes before

integration is further supported by Sackmann, Peters and Faist (2003) who also explore the process of integration for migrants. They say that in finding excluded people, they can identify who has not been integrated (p 73-74). This suggests that inclusion comes before integration, because if the person is excluded, then he/she will not be integrated.

This understanding that integration is predicated on inclusion is important as we consider the way that immersion and integration are discussed in tourism and how inclusion fits in with them. Inclusion, clearly, goes beyond immersion, but I suggest, it is not quite as far as integration. Integration, implies not just becoming a part of something but it implies equality and being a contributing part that intertwines with other parts. In this way being integrated moves beyond inclusion (being accepted and becoming a part) in regards to the tourists' depth of relationship to the hosts. Thus, if these words were on a spectrum for tourists' penetration into the host community and culture, one would start with immersion, then be included before being considered integrated. Achieving each subsequent stage, does not end the previous stage, per se, but the previous stage does not encapsulate the essence of the experience of the subsequent stage. In other words, to say that the whole experience is immersion no matter if inclusion or integration has occurred is misleading.

This is, however, a frequent occurrence, as it appears that in common perception, immersion is already placed on a continuum where there are degrees of immersion. The term is often used with qualifiers such as full, complete, total, deep or partial, as if the degree of immersion can be "increased" (Doerr 2014 p 72). Therefore, when there is a mutual connection between a tourist and a host family or a tourist starts dating someone, it is often referred to as being a complete immersion experience rather than inclusion or integration as the case may be. Doerr is an exception to those who conflate immersion with inclusion or integration. However,

in her article on global citizens (2013b) she does advocate connecting with hosts as a superior option to immersion. Similarly, Chen (2002) suggests that forming relationships between tourists and hosts is a more optimal approach in study abroad. As my research will soon show, connecting and developing relationships are often taken to mean immersion (of the full or complete variety), and encouraging tourists to do that as a more valuable pursuit has its own problems. By bringing up the discourse of immersion, Doerr is suggesting that there is much more to the concept of immersion than what the word alone implies, an idea that my research also builds on.

## **5.2 Desire for social inclusion**

The lack of specificity applied to the term immersion and the insinuation that it should be taken to mean inclusion leads to many of the problems and frustrations that exist for cosmopolitan tourists in their quests for global citizen status and the ultimate tourist experience. As the rest of this chapter and the subsequent one will show, tourists' expectations for inclusion, not just immersion, have a major impact on their interpretation of their experience as well as how they approach the experience. Both their interpretation and approach have implications on their hosts, which become especially worthy of understanding when their hosts are the same people seeking social inclusion via tourism within their own societies, like the ones discussed in chapter four.

Given the way that immersion has actually come to stand for the deeper experiences of inclusion or even integration, we can see that seeking inclusion has generally become part of the process for many tourists looking for transformative experiences engaging with their host societies. As with my study of the locals, before evaluating how successful the tourists who participated in my study are at gaining inclusion and what the impacts of their quests for

inclusion are, it is necessary to first establish that they were seeking a state of inclusion in regards to their hosts. I will do that first by demonstrating that the “immersion” they sought was often referring more to inclusion or integration both by the programs in which the tourists participated and by the tourists themselves. Second, tourists interviewed often alluded to their desires for inclusion when assessing whether they had been successful in that regard; thus, their comments will provide evidence of their desires for inclusion. I will start by looking at the programs as a means of understanding where the tourists got at least some of their expectations for inclusion.

Many of the programs in which my tourist informants were participating have a platform that encourages social inclusion for their participants and follow certain approaches that attempt to facilitate it. The first program that I will discuss is Global Citizen Year (GCY). After demonstrating its relationship to inclusion, the Global Citizen Year program will not resurface again until Chapter 6. This is because GCY is an exceptional program that, more than any of the other programs studied in this project, attempted to facilitate tourists’ entree into low-income communities in Salvador. This means that GCY provides an example of a cosmopolitan tourist program that also participates in low-income tourism, allowing for an analysis that looks at social inclusion of the tourists and the locals simultaneously.

The name of GCY alone already alludes to inclusion based on my analysis of global citizenry and the rights that are associated with it. Beyond that, this program very heavily encourages inclusion and has a mission of facilitating it insofar as the material on its website goes. For example, on the GCY website, when looking at the program and the experience, there is a tab called “immerse.” Immediately under the heading on that page the website reads: “Integrate into a new community.” It goes on to explain, “As a Global Citizen Year Fellow, you

will become an integral member of a new community and learn firsthand about life in your host country.” This emphasis on integration suggests that the fellows will do more than just immerse themselves, but that they will be considered a part of the host communities. Moreover, to say that they will be integral members is to say that they will be essential contributors to these communities, making up a part of the whole. To be considered in such regard by a host community clearly requires a level of acceptance on the part of the host community thus prompting a feeling of inclusion for the tourist. These words are not specific as to whether this will be accomplished in the apprenticeship (see chapter 3) or the homestay, but the idea is that the overall experience will provide the opportunity for inclusion.

When discussing the homestay specifically, the organization proclaims, “Your homestay experience will provide you an intimate glimpse into local life and customs, help you form deep and meaningful relationships with the people around you, and ensure that you develop full proficiency in a new language over the course of your stay.” Here we see that the tourist will gain insights through the homestay, which could simply come from being immersed, but the program goes on to say that deep and meaningful relationships will be formed which requires an action on the part of the hosts to form that connection. Here we are talking about more than just immersion, thus prompting the idea that inclusion should occur. Finally, there is an ultimate skill that will be gained through being immersed and included: language ability.

Global Citizen Year conflates, or at the very least, connects immersion with integration and in doing this, very clearly and strongly indicates that the program participants should expect to be included. This expectation is held by the program participants. For example, one of the GCY tourists, Sasha, said:

Global Citizen Year puts so much emphasis on this homestay experience, and, I don't know, if you've like read about that or anything, but that's like, a major component of this year, is

to like, immerse yourself in a family, and like, they're your, they're your everything, they're your entrance to this culture, and, they're supposedly like, really well vetted, and, um, you know, the whole deal, they're like, they're your people, and, you're supposed to eat meals with them, and spend lots of time with them, and, become really close with these people. I feel like I had expectations for that to be the case and to be like, alright well this is like a year to like really get to know the people I'm living with, and develop really close relationships with them.

Sasha's expectation to develop relationships with the family show that the expectation is to go beyond immersion to actually having an affective relationship with the people in the host family. In order to have that kind of relationship, the host family members need to be on board as well, to accept and include the tourist so that a close relationship can be formed.

GCY is not the only cosmopolitan tourist organization that suggests that tourists will go beyond immersion when participating in its program. CIEE discusses the tourists' homestay on its website saying, "The homestay is essential to the students' learning process and integration into life in Bahia." While this is a more innocuous statement than those proclaimed by GCY because of the lack of specificity, it still sets up a loftier expectation than just being immersed. Rather than merely being in a position to experience life in Bahia, tourists should be a part of that life. In order for that to happen, the person must feel some degree of inclusion on the part of a specific person or people or within society more generally.

SIT and AIESEC are not as explicit in suggesting that the tourists in their programs will be included, but they both have platforms that indicate that the tourists participating in their programs will become global citizens through the experience. SIT's website says that it "fosters a worldwide network of individuals and organizations committed to responsible global citizenship," while AIESEC's website has its "Global Citizen Programme." As already mentioned, global citizenship is a term that implies inclusion and belonging, especially through the idea that it bears rights and responsibilities, the same way that being a citizen of a nation



indicates belonging to that nation. Thus, for these organizations to posit global citizenship as a prerequisite or outcome of participating in their programs is to suggest that the tourists will be included at some level in the destination.

Clearly the organizations, although offering an immersion experience, also set-up expectations for the tourists to be included. The tourists interviewed often expressed expectations for experiences that went beyond mere immersion to actually obtain inclusion. While their programs may have helped set-up those expectations, it is also clear that the tourists came in with those expectations from elsewhere. For example, some tourists had participated in immersion tourism previously where families included them, and they used that to establish their expectations. Others just mentioned having certain goals for inclusion. Like the tourist programs, often tourists do not use the word inclusion outright. Rather they demonstrate their desire for inclusion by the activities they participate in and by their attitudes and stated expectations.

Often tourists participate in particular activities in the hopes of being included. Generally those activities include homestays, volunteering and learning the local language. Participating in these activities, does not necessarily mean that the tourist is seeking inclusion, as sometimes people seek those activities for other reasons. For example, some people prefer homestays because they are cheaper or they provide more opportunities for language practice. Some people volunteer because it makes them feel useful, not because they want to integrate. Some people learn the local language because they want to be able to use it back home rather than to be able to communicate and connect with people in the destination. Thus, engaging in these activities, may show an inclination for inclusion, but not all those participating in these activities are necessarily seeking inclusion. To understand which tourists seek inclusion, it is helpful to look at their

overall attitudes, activities and comments.

Because tourists often do not mention inclusion specifically, to understand their desire it is necessary to analyze other ideas that they express often in regards to their expectations, frustrations or other experiences. One tourist, Rachel, who participated in the SIT program described that she was looking to have a “full immersion experience.” Describing immersion as a gradient experience, suggests that there is a more complete experience than just being immersed. A more complete experience may be one in which the tourist has been included or incorporated into the local milieu beyond just being immersed. Rachel further indicated that she was looking for inclusion when discussing how, after having been through the experience, she realized that immersion was impossible, only she was not actually talking about immersion:

Before I came here, I was kind of like, I can be Brazilian, I can immerse and like be part of it, and now its like, nah dude, like I'm with a Brazilian, I live with Brazilians, I barely speak English anymore... but even, despite all of that, like, I'm an outsider, like that's all there is to it. And they can praise me for like, jumping-in headfirst as much as they want, but I'm sti-, like I still don't belong.

By discussing what she did not accomplish: not becoming Brazilian and not being a part of “it”, and the fact that she was still an outsider shows that she was not actually talking about immersion, but something deeper like inclusion or integration. Immersion does not require belonging or being a part of something, it just means that she is there, seeped in the culture, which she clearly was. Thus, as she talks about how she did not meet her expectations, she reveals that her expectations actually went beyond immersion and referred to inclusion and more.

Other tourists also demonstrate their desire for inclusion through their experiences. A tourist, Mia, who participated on the CIEE program talked about how her main reason for going to Brazil was to be immersed. Later she discussed her concerns about being mugged saying that the possibility of that really intimidated her and made her question why she was there. She felt

that her features (red hair and blue eyes) really caused her to stand out and she would be targeted for a crime because of them. Although an undesirable experience for most people, being victims of a mugging is a reality for people in Salvador regardless of being tourists or not. Because she associated being mugged with being an outsider, she did not want to have the experience. This suggests that she was looking to “belong” or to have an experience beyond just immersion.

Not all tourists, however, seek to be included and to further illustrate the point of what inclusion looks like for tourists, it helps to show the comments of those who do not seem to be seeking it. For example, one tourist participating in the Pro-World internship, Steve, talked about how he wanted to come to Brazil in order to really perfect his Portuguese. Steve may be seeking linguistic immersion but was not talking about being included. In fact he did not express any frustrations with his experience, likely due largely to the fact that he was not seeking to be included, or even culturally immersed. Kelly, from CIEE may be seeking inclusion based on her activities, but her comments did not reveal a desire for something more than immersion. She talked about how her goal was “to get to know the culture down to its roots,” one way of saying she wanted to be immersed. Later she reflected on her experience saying, “I thought I was going to be completely immersed, but I’m not.” In this case, her comments about spending more time with others (foreigners) from her program than Brazilians and that she felt her English had improved (she is a native of Switzerland) more than her Portuguese, suggest that she really was only talking about immersion. She did not verbally indicate that she was expecting something other than that. While not all tourists who participate in homestays, volunteering and learning Portuguese may be seeking inclusion, in the subsequent sections, some of these tourists’ experiences will still be discussed as a way of understanding the degree to which inclusion is achieved.

### **5.3 Inclusion successes**

The three environments where tourists largely seek inclusion is in their homestays, volunteer organizations, and overall in Salvador. Many tourists found that they do feel included in at least one those environments. Thus, even if they were seeking it in all three, and thus were disappointed overall, they still reported on their successes. Their success in this regard highlights the value that is placed on inclusion in this type of tourism.

#### **5.3.1 HOMESTAYS**

One place where tourists may feel included is with their host families. Several tourists reported on the feelings of belonging that they experienced with their host families. Rachel connected to her host family in Salvador saying, “They’re really close to my heart,” and even after leaving the host family and then returning to the city she went back to visit them. She further described:

I didn't love the program that much, but one thing that I will give them a round of applause for is that they made a huge effort to really place us with real families, and by real families I mean like working class, like, don't have a lot to offer, but like, huge hearts, like really know the city, like, like they belong to Bahia, kind of, and they really, like that, that, is what opened the door to me, to like see what, to like have this immersion experience that I wanted.

Evaluating these comments in light of Rachel’s aforementioned comments where the immersion experience she described was actually inclusion, it is likely that what she experienced with the family was actually more along the lines of inclusion. Her reference to their hearts alludes to an emotional connection that would also suggest something beyond immersion.

Although Kelly did not overtly express a desire for inclusion they way some of the other tourists did, she reported on having developed a close relationship with her family, thus feeling included. She even sought to prolong her stay with her host family as she switched from one

program, CIEE to another, SIT. SIT, however, did not authorize her to stay with a family outside its network. Kelly talked about how the family offered to take her to the hospital when she got sick and provided her with a home-like environment while still giving her the space she wanted to be able to go out and explore. That she was treated as she wanted is key, as further discussion on inclusion will reveal that being treated well, but not on the tourists' own terms, is not inclusion. Thus, that Kelly felt at home but not smothered, meant that she really could claim to be included if that was how she felt.

Some host families also recognize tourists' desires to be included and strive to offer that experience to the tourists that stay with them. This recognition is something they have concluded on their own, rather than something that they have been instructed to do, for none of the host families reported on having been given an orientation to hosting tourists. While the hosts' efforts to include tourists do not necessarily reveal that inclusion has occurred because inclusion also needs to be felt by the tourists, they do show how host families recognize the importance of inclusion as being something that will provide a satisfying experience to the tourists. For example, Sonia, who hosts student-tourists from Dialogo language school and study abroad programs at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), takes a lot of pride in her efforts to include the tourists that stay with her. First of all, she talked about her inclusive attitude of all tourists regardless of their background. She described how one time the housing coordinator from the UFBA program called to ask if she had any prejudices against gays because there was a gay tourist who only wanted to stay with a family that would not be prejudiced against him. She responded, "nao, nao tenho preconceito nenhum, eu nao tenho preconceito contra coisa nenhuma." (No, I don't have any prejudice against that, I don't have prejudice against anything.) To further demonstrate that point, she described a time when she did not get along with a tourist

staying at her house because of her attitudes and behaviors, and said that when the tourist arrived she was bald and full of tattoos and piercings. Even though that was something odd to her, she accepted it as a sign of the tourist's youth, and she maintained an open mind. It was later, when the tourist started breaking rules that Sonia developed a negative view of her.

Sonia also talked about how she consistently makes an effort for tourists to feel included on their birthdays. She said that whenever they have a birthday while staying in her house she organizes a surprise party for them, normally inviting their colleagues from their programs and her family. Even when a tourist had only been at her house a few days, she invited her family to celebrate with the tourist. She described one occasion in detail where she really surprised the tourist with the party and the young woman cried of happiness in response. Sonia's retelling of these moments demonstrated much pride and satisfaction in knowing how much the tourists appreciated her efforts, and the joy that it brought her to do these things for them.

Similarly, if tourists happen to spend a major holiday like Christmas at her house, she makes sure that he or she feels included, asking her family members to bring gifts for the tourist as well. On one occasion, the tourist was so happy to get to celebrate Christmas with her family because he said that in his home his mother never wanted to celebrate, not even putting up a Christmas tree. Thus, in some cases Sonia provided an inclusive family experience that some tourists had never experienced before.

Finally, Sonia talked about how with some tourists she developed such a relationship that she stays in contact with them and they have returned to stay with her or sent other tourists to her. She described how one man came as part of a program that sends people to Salvador each year. Each year he indicates one person to stay with Sonia because he found it to be such a great experience when he did it. Another tourist stayed with Sonia one time but has returned on three

subsequent occasions, “como familia, como familia mesmo” (as a family member, exactly as a family member), which Sonia assured, meant she does not pay to stay with them. Sonia said that she and her husband are like parents to this young woman and that she calls them on the phone once a week. Clearly both Sonia and the tourist developed an affective relationship that demonstrated an inclusive experience for the tourist.

Other hostesses also described their efforts to provide inclusive experiences for tourists. Teresa, who hosts for the UFBA study abroad and an independent language instructor, talked about how she always includes tourists in different family activities like going on excursions to Praia do Forte (a beach 90 km outside of Salvador) or Ribeira, a peripheral neighborhood of Salvador famous for ice cream. She also talked about how she includes tourists in meals even when meals are not included in their programs. She spoke at length about how inappropriate it is to have someone staying in one’s home and not offer that person meals when the family is eating. Moreover, she said that trying the local food is an important part of getting to know the culture, and so she insists that they do that. Thus, she includes the tourists in family meals even when not being compensated for it.

Flor, who hosts for an independent language instructor, talked about how she tries to make tourists feel included by making them feel like they are in their own home. She said the best way to do that is to give them freedom to cook meals and either eat with the family and in communal areas of the house, or in their bedrooms as they prefer. Gabriela, who has hosted for ACBEU and Dialogo language schools, talked about how at first she struggled as a hostess because she kept changing her and her family’s routine for the tourist, before realizing that it was making everyone unhappy. Since she stopped doing that and they have made an effort to keep with their family traditions, they have found that sometimes the tourists will join them. For example, when

they pull one of the mattresses out to the living room and huddle up to watch a movie, some tourists will sit right on the mattress with them. She also talked about how she goes out with the tourists, and in fact, I met Gabriela one night when she was out with some tourists from Dialogo language school. Gabriela, said that she has gotten very attached to the tourists that stay with her, showing an impulse to develop an affective relationship. Initially she would cry when the tourists left until she realized the emotional toll it was taking on her. She is friends with all of them on Facebook, and during her interview insisted on showing me numerous pictures while recounting different memories of each tourist she hosted. All of these host mothers describe at least some effort to include tourists, albeit to varying degrees and with varying degrees of success. Their efforts alone, however, do not signify that inclusion has happened, as much of that depends on the tourists' perspectives, which will be discussed further on in this chapter.

### **5.3.2 ORGANIZATIONS**

In addition to homestays as a way to facilitate their inclusion, tourists also seek to engage in other organizations in the destination. Often this is in the form of volunteering, and for some tourists who were interviewed, this became a vehicle for inclusion. For example, Claudia, who experienced some challenges with her hostess bonded with a woman who worked at her volunteer site. She considered that woman to be her actual Brazilian “mommy” and stayed overnight at her house on one occasion. Moreover, in talking about how her volunteer site became her community she recalled how one day she was walking down the street with the woman she calls mom and someone came up from behind to hug her. It was one of her students from the volunteer site. “I guess it’s my community, because, somebody could recognize me from there, and like, I feel at home when I’m walking in the streets.” Through the relationship she developed with the woman and saying she felt at home in the neighborhood surrounding her



volunteer site, Claudia indicated having felt included because of her volunteering. Thus, volunteering can facilitate some level of inclusion in the destination.

Mia also found that her volunteer experience facilitated feelings of inclusion for her. Mia volunteered twice a week at an orphanage in a low-income neighborhood, and soon after she started going there, she knew it was a very valuable experience for her. In fact, she decided that having enough time to spend there was more important than the classes she could take and decided to drop a class, despite the fact that this actually resulted in her failing the class because dropping courses is not allowed by the host university. “Honestly that's going to look really bad, like on my transcript, like an F, but, I was like, in life, my orphanage time will be a lot more valuable for me.” She also arranged to do an independent study related to her experience at the orphanage, and this entailed conducting research about orphanages. She got really interested in looking at attachment issues based on the fact that some of the children at the orphanage started calling her “mom.” She also reflected on her own attachment to the children describing how, when another group of visitors went to the orphanage to visit and play with the kids, she experienced feelings of a jealous and possessive nature. “We (her and the other volunteers from CIEE) just kind of watched, like, what they were doing and, we kind of got like, oh like why are they here? Like, you know, these are our kids.” When the kids demonstrated affection for her over the other visitors, she said she was very pleased. For her, volunteering at the orphanage was what she refers to as the best part of her time in Salvador. She even described plans to continue her research and involvement in orphanages in the future. Mia’s experience at the orphanage made her feel included. Her desire that the children show a preference for her, as well as their attachment to her, demonstrate that she was seeking inclusion and ultimately felt included by the children. Given her desires to feel included during her time in Salvador and the fact that the

orphanage experience proved to be the most rewarding, it appears that this organization helped her to achieve her goal.

Although Steve was not necessarily seeking an inclusive experience in Salvador, he did find that his experience at his volunteer site, an organization involved in microfinance loans, included him to the extent that he became extremely knowledgeable about microfinance. As a volunteer he shadowed credit agents and saw the process of giving loans to micro businesses. Through shadowing he saw the few cases where the loan enabled the person to grow his/her business. However, Steve also described many cases where the loan actually worsened the person's situation because of defaulting on the loan. He indicated that the microfinance organization was also just trying to keep itself afloat so it relied on getting the loans paid back. Even though Steve was not seeking inclusion at an emotional level, he may have been seeking it on an intellectual level because he was in Brazil satisfying some requirements for a Master's in Latin American Studies in which he was focusing on development. The micro-finance organization included him to the degree that he was able to gain the insights that were valuable to him.

The micro-finance organization actually has a policy of how to include the foreign interns or volunteers that come to them. Ricardo, the director of the center described how when a foreign volunteer starts at their organization, the first thing the staff does is evaluate the skills of the person to see how they can contribute to the organization. They may give them a variety of different tasks like credit analysis or field visits, to see which one they take to the best. Ricardo's idea is that during the time the foreign volunteers are spending with the institution, they are learning about the organization and also contributing to it. Thus, this organization, certainly seems to go beyond just being an immersive experience, but actually tries to include

and integrate the tourist who is volunteering temporarily with them.

### **5.3.3 SOCIETY**

Finally, some tourists described their inclusion in Salvador more broadly through the social groups that they found outside of their homestay or volunteer sites. Rachel, for example, found inclusion through an intimate relationship with a man she met early-on in her experience in Salvador. Not only did the experience help her to improve her Portuguese very rapidly, but his social networks of friends and family members became available to her. She described how she spent most of her evenings in Salvador hanging out in a big group comprised of her boyfriend, his friends, and some of her friends from the SIT program. “That was actually really valuable for us, I think because, the, Brazilians we were with, were kind of like, well you guys are here, we want to show you *our* Salvador. So they'd take us to music, they'd take us to samba, like they'd take us everywhere.” In this experience, not only was Rachel included into a social group, but the Bahians in the group offered her a special experience that took her beyond the typical tourist scene, which as she described, was exactly what she wanted for her experience in Salvador.

Her boyfriend's social network served to include her even more when she returned to Salvador to extend her stay after her study abroad program ended. She was staying to conduct independent research and had found her own place to stay using Airbnb ([www.airbnb.com](http://www.airbnb.com)). As it turned out, the place she arranged was in a favela adjacent to a centrally-located upper middle class neighborhood along the coast. The description on Airbnb, only made it sound like it was located in the upper class neighborhood. The person renting the room was an anthropologist who promised to help Rachel make contacts for her anthropological research. When Rachel arrived with all her belongings (including a laptop, camera, etc.) she discovered the low-income

quality of the neighborhood, which she described as, “it’s certainly not the most dangerous favela that exists in Salvador, but it’s still a favela and there’s definitely drugs there.” Another man was also living in the home she had arranged and she found him to be “violent, drunk and crazy.” Although sticking it out for a week, she started spending the night at her boyfriend’s house until she cried to his mom about how scared she was. Her boyfriend’s mother resolved the problem by seeing if her sister, who had a vacant bedroom, could put Rachel up, which she did. Thus, Rachel was spared from the situation that was scaring her, and could feel included in her boyfriend’s family who took it upon themselves to help her in a time of crisis.

Other tourists described momentary feelings of inclusion that they experienced through social activities with Brazilians. Mia talked about how she had been dating a Brazilian and how that contributed to why she was not prepared to leave Salvador at the end of her program, having finally found a place where she felt she belongs. Kelly, although, overall unsatisfied with the amount of time that she had spent with Brazilians did describe the highlight of her experience as being a short trip she took to Itacaré, a coastal city five hours from Salvador, with a couple of Brazilian guy friends. The guy who invited her was involved in the CIEE program insofar as his family was hosting one of the other tourists from the program. “It was perfect, like immersion for four days.” She was delighted with the immersive aspect of the experience which was not merely spending time alone with the two Brazilian guys, but also in that they knew the places to stay that were geared towards Brazilian, not international tourists. But beyond immersion, she was actually included in their travel plans with no ulterior motive as far as she was concerned. The guy who invited her did not even invite his host brother to join them, illustrating that she was included where another foreign tourist was not. So again, while Kelly seemed more interested in having had a purely immersive experience, she also was included in this adventure.

## **5.4 Challenges to social inclusion**

While many tourists do find themselves included on some level during their time in Salvador, feeling thoroughly included is often elusive. Tourists fail to feel included on a variety of levels including the family, organizational and societal level. The reasons they do not feel included vary. Ultimately, their quests for inclusion combined with their lack of overall success illustrate some of the misperceptions of what global citizenship can facilitate. Moreover, as will continue to be shown in the next two chapters, this can contribute to the further exclusion of certain members of the host population.

### **5.4.1 HOMESTAYS**

To start we will look at the lack of inclusion that tourists experience in their homestays. One way in which tourists frequently find themselves disappointed with their homestay experience is because they are not thought of as special and unique, and therefore are not included as individuals in their host families. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Salvador has a pretty significant demand for renting rooms to foreigners. There are at least a dozen language schools in Salvador and many of those schools offer the option of coordinating a homestay for the students. As the schools compete for the best family arrangements in the best locations, the compensation for hosting students can be as high as about \$35 USD per night with all three meals included. This has become a lucrative business for many people who have one or multiple rooms to rent. For some families this is a constant, and possibly only source of income. To be on the list of host families for one of the high-paying schools or programs is a coveted position and some families do everything they can to not jeopardize their relationships with the schools. However, some tourists have difficulties with the serial host families, especially those who are in

it solely for the money. Often those families do not provide the individualized experience necessary for showing the tourist that he/she is included.

Some tourists interviewed were not looking for that inclusive experience, but for those that were, the fact that the family had already received so many foreign tourists, and in some cases had several foreign tourists in the home at the same time, inhibited inclusion. For example, Amy, a tourist who was taking Portuguese classes at Dialogo language school as a precursor to a study abroad program in Rio talked about her expectations for being immersed and having a close relationship with her host family, hoping that they would be “fun to talk to.” Although she was the first tourist the family received from Dialogo, they had hosted in the past with other schools. Amy, said that when she first arrived, the host mother kept saying, Lizzy this and Lizzy that, comparing Amy to a tourist they had hosted in the past. “So, its a little awkward, I think, being compared to someone else,” Amy reported. Overall, she was disappointed with her host family experience.

Claudia, a tourist with CIEE said that when she arrived in her host family’s home, there were already two other tourists living there. She felt that she needed to set herself apart from those other girls because the host mother did not have very nice things to say about them. Claudia did feel that she had been successful in doing that, but the fact that she needed to compete for attention, already positioned her in an uncomfortable situation. Gabriela, a host mother for Dialogo language school confirmed that when there was more than one tourist staying with her there was a tendency for her to not include the tourists as much because the tourists tended to bond with each other more than with the family. Given that, Claudia, in her desire to bond with the family, played it smart to distance herself from the other tourists.

Michelle, a tourist with Pro-World, talked about how she was initially living in the same

house as another tourist from her program and that experience did not go well for her at all. Every time she tried to say something to the host mom, the woman would respond, “Não entendi” (I did not understand), as if, “she really didn’t like me,” Michelle explained. That was not the kind of relationship the woman had with the other tourist in her house. Because Michelle’s interpretation was that the host mom did it because she did not like her, thus Michelle was not feeling included. When there was more than one tourist in a home or the family had received so many tourists already, there was a risk of not feeling special, the family bonding more with the other tourists or being compared to other tourists, none of which facilitate inclusion into the family.

Michelle’s experience also points to another factor in why tourists may not feel included: communication challenges. Michelle did acknowledge that she was not very advanced with Portuguese and because she was living with another foreigner with whom she spoke a lot of English, she was not improving. So even though she felt the host mom was not being nice in always saying she did not understand, she also knew that language was a problem for her. For someone hoping to feel included, the expectation would be to have a host or hostess who was patient and assisted with language acquisition to the point of being able to understand each other. However, that was not always the case, and when it was not, the tourists may feel like they were not being included, as happened with Michelle.

Michelle was not the only tourist who felt that communication problems affected her level of inclusion with the family. Amy, the tourist from Dialogo expecting a close relationship with the host family, also felt that language was a barrier for inclusion in her host family. She reported not having spoke more than two sentences to her host mom since her first week and explained this saying, “I think she thinks that I still can't speak Portuguese, cuz she'll always then

try to speak in English, and like, no, I don't understand your English, its much worse, then my Portuguese.” In Amy’s case, she was frustrated at what she perceived as her host mother’s lack of confidence in her Portuguese language ability, as well as her insistence on speaking an English that Amy did not understand. Beatriz, another Dialogo tourist, found that her host mother dominated conversations so much that she could barely get a word in. This frustrated her because not only was she unable to practice much Portuguese, but even when she did, Beatriz felt very inhibited and did not feel like she was being herself in the situation.

Another obstacle to inclusion that tourists face in their homestays is dealing with offensive and insensitive comments by members of the host family. For example, Mia, from CIEE, who had been very excited to stay with a host family found that she could not relate to her host mother’s prejudicial attitudes. One day Mia was in the hallway of her apartment building talking to a neighbor who happened to be Jewish. When Mia went inside her apartment, the host mom started questioning her about what they had been talking about, explaining her behavior by saying that the neighbor is Jewish. Mia found this prejudicial attitude very reprehensible and thus was no longer excited about developing a relationship with her host mother. While the host mother’s openness about her attitudes reveals that she was including Mia enough to share her views with her, the fact that those views were uncomfortable to Mia, made Mia no longer interested in being included.

Claudia, another CIEE tourist, also felt that her host mother’s attitudes and comments prevented her from trusting her host mother and from feeling completely comfortable around her. For example, Claudia said that the host mother frequently made comments about her hair like, “oh are you hot” because her hair got really big and “poofy” due to the humidity. This made Claudia feel uncomfortable, as if she was expected to style her hair differently. The host mother



also made comments about Claudia's weight telling her at times she looked skinnier and other times that she had gotten bigger. Claudia did confront the host mother about those comments to which the host mother responded, according to Claudia, "if it were me, I would want someone to tell me." Claudia acknowledged that these types of comments are more acceptable in Brazil and reminded her of the comments that her actual relatives in Colombia said to her in the past, but to which she put an end because they made her feel uncomfortable. So on the one hand, this type of comment demonstrates a level of inclusion because the host mother was treating Claudia as she would anyone else, but Claudia was not feeling included because these comments were unwelcoming to her. Claudia further expressed distrust of her host mother because Claudia said that one time the host mother paid her a compliment with the intention of getting her to buy something from her. Claudia found this to be very manipulative. Therefore, although Claudia seemed to have found ways of expressing her concerns to her host mother, the fact that she did not trust her made inclusion impossible.

Issues with trust on the side of the host family also play into the lack of inclusion that tourists feel. For example, some host families reported on not letting the tourists they host cook in their home. Sonia, the host mother who was proud of the lengths she took to include tourists at holidays and birthdays, talked about having had a very bad experience with a tourist from Japan who would come in at midnight and start cooking using all of her pans and utensils and leaving the kitchen a smelly mess. Since then she does not allow the tourists to cook. One of the tourists who stayed with her, Amelie, spoke of her frustration at not being able to prepare her supper there because she found food in Salvador to be very expensive and she would have liked to cut down on the cost by preparing food in the home. By not having that right within the home, Amelie was not feeling included.

Another issue that both tourists and hosts reported on was regarding the issue of inviting guests into the home. Tourists frequently commented on their inability to invite people inside. Sometimes they were not allowed to bring anyone in, sometimes the restriction was only to a certain kind of person. Amelie talked about her experience in that regard saying, that she thought she was the ideal tourist for her host family except for when she brought a Brazilian guy to the house. Even though she knew him prior to her arrival in Salvador, he was still treated with suspicion, and Amelie felt that the host family was asking, “Que, que, quer? Que ele quer?” (What, what does he want, what does he want?). At the same time, the host family was very receptive to a Swiss friend that Amelie had made at her language school and even offered her to stay the night during Carnaval. Sonia revealed her policy against allowing certain people into her home during her interview. When discussing the tourist she hosted who proved challenging, she talked about how the young woman had wanted to bring a guy over to the house. Sonia responded very animatedly:

Não, porque vc se conheceu este rapaz onde? É seu colega? Não. Conheceu onde? Vcs ja, ja, conhecidos dos Estados Unidos? Não. Conheci no Pelourinho. O que é que ele faz? Ah, vende umas camisas, as vezes...Não. Aqui em casa, não. Por que?! Por que? Eu ja lhe disse, esse tipo de gente, não se traz para casa, eu não sei quem...ele estuda? Não. Ele trabalha? Não. Entao..a minha casa não entra esse tipo de gente. Nos não temos habito de acolher esse tipo de gente, que eu sei quem sao. (No, because where did you meet this guy? Is he in your program? No. Where did you meet him? Do you guys already know each other from the United States? No. I [speaking for the tourist] met him in Pelourinho. What [speaking for herself again] is it that he does? Oh, he sells shirts...some times...No. Here in my house, no. Why not?! Why not? I already told you that this type of person cannot be brought into my house. I don't know who he is. Does he study? No. Does he work? No. Ok then, this type of person does not enter into my house. We do not have the habit of welcoming this type of person that I know who they are.)

Sonia's comments suggest that there are certain things that would make this person acceptable to bring over. First if he were a fellow tourist in her program or if she already knew him from the U.S. The fact that the tourist met the guy in Pelourinho (the historic center of Salvador that has a

reputation of attracting local people seeking to prey on tourists) and he does not have a legitimate job or study made him less desirable. Clearly Sonia was not shy about her policy of not letting certain types of people into her home.

Sonia was not the only hostess who talked about having a policy prohibiting certain people from entering her house. Flor, who hosts tourists studying at an independent language school and lives in a beachfront neighborhood in Salvador had a hard time articulating her policy, but eventually made it clear that tourists are not allowed to bring locals into her home, even if they are dating. “Agora se você, se conheceu na praia ou na rua, homem ou mulher, é muito difícil, por que? Porque, você não sabe. Nem eu sei.” (Now, if you met someone at the beach or in the street, man or woman, it’s very difficult. Why? Because you don’t know. I don’t even know.” However, a tourist is allowed to bring another person from his/her home country or even any other country into the house even if they just met: “Mas, essa pessoa que você conhece, do mesmo país, ou do outro país, que você conheceu, para mim, é mais confiável. Porque a própria pessoa como você, que está aqui fora do seu país, tem muito cuidado.” (But, if this person that you met is from your same country or from another country, for me, is more trustworthy. Because that same person, like you, that comes here and is outside his/her country, is very careful.) So Flor would trust a foreign tourist before trusting her fellow Brazilians.

Regardless of whether or not the policy to let Brazilians invited by tourists into the home is understandable or not, it ultimately suggests a couple of things in relation to social inclusion. First, for the tourists, when they do not feel trusted and they cannot bring their guests into their space, they are not experiencing inclusion. Second, the categorical policy against Brazilians reflect exclusionary attitudes that locals hold towards one another very similar to Ong’s notion of graduated sovereignty (2008, 2006). Foreigners are coded as exemplar and trustworthy while

locals are viewed as inferior. The implications of this lead to overzealous warnings leading tourists to avoid and distrust local people, especially those they meet in Pelourinho or that have certain characteristics that are also markers of being of a lower economic status. While considering the exclusion of locals from the homes of middle class residents hosting tourists is not quite within the scope of this study, which is focusing on the inclusion of locals involved in low-income tourism, this situation still reveals some attitudes that have an impact on the social exclusion that locals deal with and are trying to overcome via tourism.

Some tourists reported on a general lack of inclusion in the families of their homestay when they were not invited to meals that occurred in public spaces in the home or when they were not invited to join in the social activities of the members of the family. Regarding meals, Amelie, who was staying at Sonia's house, found this to be the most uncomfortable part of her homestay experience. She had wanted a homestay where both her breakfast and supper were included, but the agency that made her arrangements in Salvador said that supper was not customarily offered in Salvador homestays. From the very beginning of her time in Salvador the issue of supper was stressful to her because she found the food to be expensive in Salvador and she was not allowed to cook in the home. She got on very well with her host family: Sonia and her husband, both retired and in their late 60s. For that reason she could not understand how they could feel comfortable having her in their home and eating supper without inviting her to join them. Although they worried about her in other aspects, meals were a different issue. As Amelie reports, "Eles nunca perguntaram onde ia jantar, onde ia comer. Isso é um pouco estranho." (They never ask if I am going to have supper, where I'm going to eat, you know. That is a little strange.) She says she is often in her room when they have supper and they do not ask her to join them. The one time they did ask was when she was conversing with Sonia at the

time they were going to eat supper and so Sonia asked Amelie if she would like a coffee or a soup. Amelie accepted. Amelie's description suggests that the hosts were aware of the awkwardness that not offering her food presented and thus were trying to avoid that unpleasantness by not asking about meals and only including her when it would seem too rude not to. Amelie was also aware of the awkwardness and said that she started trying to avoid being in the house around suppertime to avoid the discomfort that the situation presented. That she felt she needed to leave the place where she was staying illustrates her lack of inclusion in the home environment.

Amy, one of the Dialogo students, also reported a lack of inclusion regarding meals, but it was different from Amelie's situation. Amy said that in her home, none of the members of her host family were up by the time she had to leave for Portuguese class (starting at 9 AM). So the one meal that was included in her homestay, breakfast, she ate alone and had to finish preparing on her own. As she described, "my host mom leaves like a little three layer cheese sandwich, um, like on a, on a pan in the kitchen..and then she leaves like cut up, banana and papaya in the blender, which then gets ants in it, and I told her, like twice, now, like please don't do that, because, like its just getting ants in it." This arrangement led to Amy's unenthusiastic view of her host family and why she never felt included in the family. Furthermore, Amy also reported that despite having a host sister her exact age, she was never invited to go out with her and they barely communicated.

Several other tourists mentioned that they were not included in the social activities of some of the family members around their age. Both Danielle and Mia, who were disappointed by their experiences with the host families, mentioned that the twenty-somethings in their families never invited them to do anything. In both Danielle and Amy's cases, they contrasted the experience in

Salvador to other international homestay experiences where they were very much incorporated into the family and became close to their host siblings. Their experiences in Salvador reminded them of their lack of inclusion in the homes they were staying in.

Finally, evidence of tourists' lack of inclusion can be seen in cases where the host family, rather than being truthful about things not working out with the tourist, deceive him or her. Sonia told about the time she hosted a tourist who had the habit of cooking really odiferous foods late at night in her kitchen and leaving it a mess. Moreover, he barely spoke a word to her, and so she did not want him to continue staying there. She called the housing coordinator of the program he was participating in and asked him to tell the student that there had been a change of plans, the family was going to travel for awhile to Rio, and for that reason he could no longer stay with them. The student was skeptical of the excuse and confronted Sonia about it, but even then she did not tell him the real reason why she did not want him to stay. Although none of the tourists I interviewed ever commented on being lied to, the deceptive communication practice reported by some host families is indicative of a lack of inclusion towards the tourist. As the next chapter will reveal, this deception goes both ways.

#### **5.4.2 ORGANIZATIONS**

Sometimes the organizations the tourists were involved in, like the places they volunteer, the schools they attend, or the programs they are participating in lead to tourists' lack of inclusion. This happens for a variety of reasons including lack of organization or policies that detract from tourists' abilities to connect to the destination. Michelle talked about how she had really wanted to volunteer for an organization that deals with the issue of female trafficking. She said that its lack of organization prevented her from getting involved because it never got back to her,. The volunteer placement she actually received was so far away from where she lived, she

never spent any additional time there getting to know the people at the organization.

Although the orphanage where both Mia and Kelly volunteered provided a level of inclusion and attachment, at least for Mia, it was very inefficiently run. The staff seems almost to depend on the the help, in both time and money, that outsiders are able to give. After hearing about the orphanage from the two research participants, I visited the place myself. During this visit, the staff of four women, was lounging in the courtyard area while two volunteers worked with all of the children in a school-like setting in the house. When I first arrived, one of the staff, the one I was told was in charge, was laying down on her side and eating a large plate of food, while another was braiding the hair of a third and a fourth came and sat next to me. While I was talking to the staff, the one in charge told me that it was people like me who make financial donations that allow the place to run. At one point during this conversation, a small child around twelve months old, was playing near them in the cement courtyard. He fell down and started crying. No one made any move to pick the child up. Not sure of my own role there, but compelled to soothe the child, I looked at the head of the staff who indicated that it was appropriate for me to pick him up, which I did. After speaking to the staff for a while, I went into the house where I played with some young children for a little while and then helped another girl with her school work. At no time did the four staff members come in from the courtyard and engage with the children. I was there for over two hours. After that experience, I went back to my interview with Mia and noticed that she did corroborate my impression of the staff responding to my question of whether or not the orphanage had a staff saying, “Sometimes. The adults, just stay there, they just, I don't know. I don't...I don't know what they do. (She laughs.) They, make them lunch, I don't know.” Later in the interview she also said that the place is not well-run. This type of setting is not ideal for gaining an inclusive experience, because rather

than working with the adult staff at the volunteer site, the tourists are there doing their own thing, following their instincts for how to care for the children. They are not learning new ways of doing things or working within the system that is already there. In this regard, while the tourists can feel needed, they are not being included in the organization.

Besides the volunteer organizations, the other organizations that the tourists are involved in: language schools or study programs, also may inhibit social inclusion for the tourists. Often this is just a natural outcome of the fact that these organizations are corralling many foreign tourists, so most of the tourists' time is spent with other tourists, not with locals who could afford them social inclusion into the destination society. Dialogo language school is a school exclusively for foreign students, so many of the students' social networks are comprised of the other tourists studying at the school. Kelly reported that her program, CIEE, by nature did not provide a full immersion experience, and thus did not facilitate social inclusion in the destination because there were too many opportunities to hang out with other members of the program.

Although often the nature of the organizations can be a problem, there are also times when specific policies inhibit social inclusion. For example, in the SIT program, rather than go home and eat meals with the host families, each tourist was given \$15R (\$7.50) per day to eat lunch near their classes. The tourists, always ended up eating together. While this policy allows the tourists a certain level of insight into what many local people also do, it does not help the tourists to further their connections to their families by eating lunch, the biggest, most elaborate meal of the day, with them. Moreover, because they end up eating with each other, they are not being exposed to some of the customs and knowledge that would facilitate their inclusion into society. Kelly, who was participating in both the CIEE and the SIT program talked about how she wanted to continue living with the same family from her first program (CIEE) because she really liked



them. That continuity would have afforded her a greater level of social inclusion instead of having to start over with a new family. She asked the SIT staff if that would be possible and they said no. As she reported, they said, “We cannot allow you to stay with another family, because we don't know them, and it's, you have to agree to, like our terms, of immersion.” Thus, their terms of immersion do not privilege a deeper level of inclusion by continuing to develop a relationship with a single family.

The CIEE program also employs some policies that do not facilitate inclusion. For example, CIEE typically arranges classes for its participants at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), a large public school in a central area of Salvador. The professors went on a strike during the year of this research, and so CIEE changed everything so that the participants would attend La Catolica (UCSA), the private, Catholic university. This made for a much different experience for the tourists because UCSA's campus is smaller and does not offer the same kinds of extracurricular and cultural activities as UFBA. For Kelly, this proved to be a detrimental change to her experience getting immersed in Salvador. She compared her experience to other tourists who were studying at UFBA, “I met some people, who are study abroad students from UFBA. They just got here a month ago and they already have so many like Brazilian contacts. They, they're super, like they're so immersed in it, and they've been here for a month and I've been here for 6 months!” Thus, even though the strike was not CIEE's fault, the solution the program used did not aid in facilitating inclusion for its tourists.

CIEE also inhibits inclusion through an overzealous warning about how dangerous Salvador is. All three tourists interviewed from CIEE reported on the speech they were given during their first week in Salvador. As Kelly recalled, “they gave us this horrible speech about like, don't do this, don't do that. Like the first weeks, I was afraid to go outside. Then, like I was

afraid to take my camera, I was afraid to take money on me, I was afraid to take my credit card, and now, I'm, like it took me, like three months to, to be like, oh its fine to take your camera outside, because they like brainwash us.” Mia’s fears about being mugged and her questioning her decision to go to Salvador stemmed from that warning. Claudia also said that it was CIEE that planted her fears about Salvador and that the speech really frightened her. The next subsection will discuss the issues of crime and fear in more depth, but the fact that the tourists were afraid made it hard to feel included on a base level, and the fact that the fear translated into being afraid to go outside, meant that there were fewer opportunities for the tourists to get involved and find ways to get included with organizations and people.

#### **5.4.3 SOCIETY AT-LARGE**

Tourists often live with families or work with particular organizations as a way to develop a community into which they are included; however, a large part of the sense of inclusion comes from how a tourist feels in relationship to the larger society of the destination. While occasionally tourists describe feeling included by having found social groups or really learning to navigate the city, they more often describe instances of not fitting in. Those feelings tend to stem from tourists standing out in relationship to the locals, tourists’ ability (or lack thereof) to communicate and understand Portuguese, the nature of the city including the tendencies and customs of the people and the crime and violence that occurs there.

Several of the tourists talked about how they just felt different. Mia said that her physical appearance made her stand out and she thought this was why she was an easy target for being mugged (which happened to her twice). She also talked about how people often whistled when she passed and tried to touch her red hair. She said that this is simultaneously flattering and creepy. Rachel reflected deeply on her position as an outsider as discussed at the beginning of

this chapter. Besides acknowledging that she could never fit in, she also concluded that this was why she could never live in Brazil. She cited a particular exchange with her Bahian boyfriend to elucidate her point. She said her boyfriend would customarily mutter “sai do meu pais!” (Get out of my country!) when they were out together and he heard people speaking English.

Essentially, as Rachel reported, he was being critical of the tourists who go to Brazil to exploit its people and culture. When she took offense to that, he reminded her that she was different because she “tries.” She disagreed with this idea and said in her interview, “this is why I don’t think that I can live here,” and “no matter what I do, I will always represent that to somebody.”

Rachel also commented on her language ability, which, although very advanced, still prevented her from fully participating in society. “The language thing is a big factor as well, like even though I speak very good Portuguese, I still have trouble, because I can’t hang out in groups, that’s the problem, like when, when I’m in a group, and everyone’s speaking at the same time, really fast, like, I just sit there and don’t say anything, because I don’t know what’s going on.” Although Rachel was successful in connecting with her host family and developing a relationship with a young Bahian man, she still felt that her language skills were preventing her from being included in society more broadly.

Danielle, a biracial tourist from Switzerland with a father from Ghana and mother from Switzerland, talked about how her language ability prompted strange reactions from locals. She said because of her appearance, locals tended to assume that she was Brazilian. Then, when she tried to speak and could not, the people just stopped talking to her. That was uncomfortable for her, but she also acknowledged that her physical appearance had likely helped her to avoid being mugged since people assumed she was Brazilian. Language ability, then, has an impact on inclusion in homestays, volunteer placements, and in the broader society.

Tourists tend not to see their inclusion in society, or lack thereof, as a symptom of their own shortage of knowledge about the city or the local customs. Rather, they attribute their lack of inclusion to the nature of Salvador. For example, Rachel talked about how she had not been able to make friends with Bahian women. “It’s really hard to make friends with Baianas, like Marcela (a U.S. friend) and I like talk about this a lot, um, Brazil, like Baianas, in particular we think are super-guarded because there’s such a culture of like cheating here, and they don’t want to let other women in, because they think they’ll want to like, steal their men. Its been really hard to connect with women I’ve found.” This statement shows that Rachel saw that she had not been included by Bahian women and attributed that to the general tendency of the women in Salvador to not trust other women.

Danielle also felt that the nature of Salvador as being less community-oriented and hospitable than she expected, contributed to her not feeling included. “I had the, had another um, idea of Salvador, of how people live, and also um, there’s not much, um, the neighbors, I feel like the neighbors don’t really talk to each other much, there’s not much community feeling.” She went on to say that she had been expecting a much more hospitable place, and was disappointed because that is not what she found. In fact, she talked about experiences where her status as tourist led to locals taking advantage of her. One time at a restaurant she asked if she had to pay by the weight of the food-. She was told yes, and then after putting a small amount of food on her plate and going to the cash register, she was told that no, there was a set amount to pay per plate no matter how much food was on it. She concluded, “I feel like they’re (the locals) kind of already, kind of tired of tourists sometimes.” All-in-all, Danielle did not feel included in Salvador. Though she did spend a lot of time with other foreigners, she attributed her lack of inclusion to tendencies of the locals rather than a lack of effort on her part.

Finally, the issue of crime and violence is a major issue for tourists and contributes to their feelings of being included or not in the broader social fabric of Salvador. The issues of crime, fear and victimhood present a number of tensions when thinking about inclusion. Being the victim of crime in Salvador is a fairly widespread phenomenon based on the numbers of crimes that occur. For example, *El Pais* newspaper reported that in the month of March when I was conducting research in Salvador, there had been 149 homicides, 84 homicide attempts, 41 rapes, 64 bus robberies and 678 robberies (Arias, 2013). The number of homicides per capita in Salvador is now significantly surpassing the rates in both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The previous chapter also highlights the impacts that crime has on the low-income communities and their opportunities to feel included through tourism. For that reason, on a certain level, being included in Salvador society is to also experience that victimhood, which some tourists came to embrace. However, as mentioned, being included is not just about the actions one does to a person, but how that person feels in the relationship and because of those actions. Moreover, being the victim of a crime is uncomfortable, and discomfort is generally not part of a situation one feels included in. For the most part, the tourists interviewed had negative impressions of being victims of crime and a lot of them, like Danielle, did associate victimhood with being or looking like an outsider. Largely, it was something they wanted to avoid and concerns about being victimized led to tourists not feeling included in Salvador.

Oftentimes the concerns of being victims never materialized. In fact, numerous tourists express frustration about how often they were warned about Salvador's crime and violence and how those warnings tended to eschew their perspectives of the dangers they actually faced. For example, Amelie says, "el miedo que te pone la gente de tener cuidado en todo, que no sé qué, que no sé cuánto, entonces eso me fastidia un poco. No había pensado en eso." ("The fear that

people invoke for you that you have to be careful in every little thing you do, that bothers me a little. I hadn't been expecting that.") She went on to say that those warnings came from her Brazilian friends and guidebooks, but above all from her host family. As she says, "Quítate la cadena, quita el no sé que, no llames atención." (Take off your chain necklace, take off whatever else, don't attract attention.") The family also told her that if it was after 8:30 at night she should take a taxi up the hill to their home. She felt that this was an unnecessary precaution because she believed that she lived in a relatively safe neighborhood and the taxi would only be carrying her for a quarter of a mile. All of those warnings started to make her feel uncomfortable and inhibited about going out and doing things.

Two other tourists from Dialogo, Danielle and a tourist from the U.S., Margaret, talked about how their fears were induced by local people's conversations about the dangers of Salvador. Danielle felt that Salvador was not that dangerous, but people saying so stressed her out. Margaret said she did feel unsafe in Salvador, but those fears were exacerbated by people telling her that she needed to be careful. As already mentioned, the three tourists from CIEE were also made to feel scared, although the most significant warning for them came from their program rather than from local people.

Tourists' fears can start to inhibit their behaviors, thus leading them to not feel included in society. For example, Claudia, who was majoring in photography, was afraid to take her camera out to take pictures. Kelly, as already mentioned, was afraid to take her money and camera out with her for the first three months. Given the frequency of crime in Salvador, the warnings are not necessarily unfounded, however, they do seem to have a profound impact on the process of feeling included. This was even more noteworthy due to the fact that tourists who actually experience being victimized, sometimes used the experience to feel more included.

At the beginning of this chapter, I talked about how Mia wanted to avoid being mugged, and although mugging would be a sign of immersion, her desire to avoid this showed that she would not view being mugged as indication of her being included in Salvador. Rather she would interpret the experience as an indication of how greatly she did not fit in because like Danielle, she associated being targeted for mugging to appearance as an outsider. Mia was mugged twice during her time in Salvador in a span of ten days. She was one of the tourists for whom the warnings about being mugged did materialize. Although her fears led her to feel apprehensive and not included in Salvador, the overall reality of the experience did provide her with a certain insider perspective that she came to appreciate and value as part of her overall experience.

Despite the potential for interpreting victimhood as a sign of inclusion, the tourist who falls victim to crime is still often regarded as an unfortunate, ignorant outsider by the locals as evidenced in the reports by host families and even language instructors who are generally made aware of these situations. Almost all of the host families had stories about tourists they hosted who became victims of crimes. Sonia talked with incredulity about a tourist because after being deceived and robbed in Salvador by a local he thought was his friend, he went to Rio and again was robbed by someone with whom he made friends. Flor told of a student who was staying with her, but then decided to go stay with a guy she met. Flor could foresee the problems and warned the tourist, even telling her that if something happened she could return to her home. Ultimately the tourist was robbed by the guy she was staying with and returned to Flor's house. Cristina, a Portuguese-language instructor who has run her own school in Salvador for thirteen years said she had seen all kinds of cases of tourists who were robbed. She said many of her students who got involved with locals got involved with untrustworthy ones, and were robbed. Cristina says, "Eles [os turistas] não entendem por que" (They [the tourists] don't understand

why) and it is very difficult for them to wrap their heads around the idea that it was the significant other. Cristina's explanation of the tourists paints the tourists as fairly naive.

Teresa, another host mom, was especially critical of the tourists that get robbed. She said that the one that was currently staying with her at the time of her interview had been robbed three times already. Two of those times happened out on the street and the third one was when someone actually broke into the home. Teresa was very animated in talking about that third time because of the danger that the tourist placed onto the family. According to Teresa, she told the tourist repeatedly that he could not leave his window open because his room was on the first floor. He continued to do it anyways, and one night someone entered and stole his laptop and cell phone. Teresa theorized that the tourist moved in the night and that is why the thief left before creating a worse situation. One of the muggings happened when the tourist was doing something that is frequently warned against: going by foot to the Museum of Modern Art (MAM). Even the three sentence description on the *Lonely Planet's* online guidebook, says not to walk there (2015). Teresa attributed this tourists' frequent victimization to the fact that he looked like a nerd: "Ele tem cara de nerd, então, um ladrão vai pegar aquele." (He has the face of a nerd, therefore, a thief is going to target him.) She goes on to joke, "Eu tenho que botar segurança para ele? Eu vou colocar ele na jaula?" (Do I have to get him a security guard? Should I put him in a cage?") These comments reveal her belief that this tourist is ignorant and beyond her help. Tourists who get robbed three times in preventable cases are not seen as insiders and for that reason have not achieved inclusion.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated that there is a tendency for tourists within the cosmopolitan formation to seek inclusion in the destination via their tourist experience. The quest for inclusion



is often not referred to as such because words like immersion and even integration are more common for describing that experience. However, we can see inclusion as a mid-point between immersion and integration in terms of the depth of connection to the people, organizations and society of the destination. Based on tourists' comments and tourism programs' descriptions, it is clear that reaching that mid-point was an objective for many of the tourists participating in this study.

While achieving some level of inclusion in the family, a volunteer organization or in society as a whole is not uncommon for tourists, often they fall short of feeling thoroughly included. For those that aim for inclusion, this is often a topic of reflection when considering their experiences. Tourists find that they do not feel included in host families, which is a feeling that is even more acute when they expected to find otherwise. Sometimes the organizations the tourists participate in: volunteer sites, language schools or tourism programs lead to not feeling included due to disorganization or policies that prevent connecting to the people of the organization or host society. Finally, for some tourists, not feeling included occurs at the level of overall society, when they realize that despite their efforts, they still do not fit in or are not forming a social bond.

Not being included can be a frustrating or enlightening experience for tourists as they realize the limitations of what they are able to accomplish through their international travel. However, beyond the personal realizations, the quest for inclusion and the threat of failing to achieve this also has more extensive ramifications. Those impacts are visible on locals who may end up being excluded or dismissed because of tourists' quests for a certain experience. The impacts are also seen on a global scale as these tourists find themselves included in a global community despite their lack of success being included in a local one. The next two chapters

will provide greater insights into these outcomes.

Chapter six is dedicated to one particular group of tourists who participated in the Global Citizen Year program. Because that program is so completely dedicated to facilitating tourists' inclusion, it provides insights into the cosmopolitan tourist's desire for inclusion and subsequent ramifications that are not as evident with tourists participating in other programs. Moreover, GCY's efforts to facilitate tourists' entree into low-income neighborhoods further allows for an understanding of the way tourism can foster (or not) social inclusion in a variety of ways and for different groups of people.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **GLOBAL CITIZEN YEAR: THE CONVERGENCE**

Global Citizen Year proved to be a unique organization offering a cosmopolitan tourist experience in Salvador. Unlike other programs, this one strived to place tourists in peripheral neighborhoods in Salvador. The emphasis was more on the tourists' engagement with the community via their host families and apprenticeships (similar to a volunteer placement, but with an additional emphasis on the tourists' own growth in addition to service), rather than on courses or Portuguese-language classes. The program ran from September to April allowing for multiple interviews, observations and other engagements with the tourists. For these reasons, this program offers deeper insights that warrant a separate chapter. Moreover, the structure of this chapter is different from the others. Rather than organize the data by similar themes, the data is revealed as a narrative about each of the tourists' experiences. The narrative is then followed by a discussion. This allows for a more fluid retelling of the tourists' experiences and reflections without losing the richness of their perspectives. Throughout each narrative, a number of themes emerge that were covered in chapters four and five, in some cases further supporting points made or going even deeper. The narratives of the GCY tourists allow for seeing how quests for inclusion for both tourists and locals intersect. The discussions following the narratives highlight the themes and intersections, which will be further analyzed in the concluding chapter.

#### **6.1 Grace's Story**

Grace, an 18-year-old tourist from San Francisco was spending seven months in Salvador as a participant in Global Citizen Year. An experienced immersion tourist, Grace had already spent an academic year abroad participating in a program for high school students in Italy. In

Italy she connected deeply with her host family with whom she spoke with once a week after leaving Italy. She expected to find something similar in Salvador.

When she arrived in Salvador, she was assigned a host family in Graça, a middle class neighborhood near many Portuguese language schools. The family consisted of the host mother, her 21-year-old daughter, the daughter's husband and 2-year-old daughter. This family worked as a host family for some of the nearby schools having hosted many international students (over fifty according to Grace). Those programs compensate the host families better than GCY. Grace felt her experience to be very impersonal as the host family cycled through tourists quickly: as soon as one left, a new one would come. The family also made comments to her about the fact that they were receiving less money for hosting her than they usually do. When Grace asked if members of her program could come over to eat lunch with her, she was chastised for suggesting such a thing because of the money it would cost to feed them, and was told that the only place any guests could come was to the living room. Moreover, as the family rarely left the house to do anything, Grace perceived them to be representing the elite of Salvador, "closing themselves off in this little box and removing themselves from the reality of the rest of the city, which is just not what I came to Brazil to have." She realized that she could live like that for the next six months, but it would be like living in a hotel. She had placed great importance on the host family relationship prior to arriving in Salvador, so it was difficult to adjust to a reality in which the host family was not going to provide her with a close relationship.

After three weeks she asked about the possibility of changing host families with the program coordinator, Mauricio. Mauricio was not optimistic about finding a suitable replacement, but a week later, Grace received a text message saying that she should pack her bags as he had arranged a new host family for her. Grace was shocked by the suddenness, but

was glad to move. She moved to Fazenda Coutos, a low-income neighborhood in the periphery of Salvador. The family had never hosted a tourist in its home previously and the neighborhood was unaccustomed to receiving tourists. On average it would take Grace over an hour to get to the central part of the city on public transportation. As a vegetarian, Grace did not eat the food the family prepared and thus would buy and make her own food. The home did not offer hot showers, regularly running water or many of the luxuries of the home in Graça, but the family was much more lively and engaged with her. She felt that she was getting a better taste of Bahian culture. According to Mauricio, the GCY program coordinator who was interviewed about half-way through the program, Grace was being exactly what the program values in a tourist because of her desire to go out of her comfort zone and live in Fazenda Coutos.

There were also challenges for Grace. For example, living in such a peripheral area she was very removed from the goings-on in the central areas of Salvador and she felt isolated in the neighborhood around her home. Because the neighborhood did not typically receive tourists, she was often asked if she was lost. Grace's physical appearance as blond, blue-eyed and fair-skinned, very obviously set her apart from the local population, which was primarily Afro-Brazilian. In addition, the neighborhood faced many of the problems with crime and drugs typical to low-income neighborhoods all over the world. Those potential dangers meant that Grace could not get involved in the surrounding community as much as she would have liked. She spent a lot of time inside her home with her host family.

After several months of living like this, the isolation and discomfort of living in an unsafe area started to get to her. She said she was frustrated and tired of feeling "desintegrated" from the city and was not feeling "at home." She reached out to her program leaders, Mauricio and Francesca, several times wanting to discuss her situation, but felt that her concerns were

dismissed. As she grew more subdued, her parents in the U.S. got worried and then involved by insisting to the U.S.-based staff that she be moved from that home due to their concerns for her safety. Ultimately the local program staff obliged, but blamed Grace for mishandling the situation. She felt as though they wrote-off her discomfort as another tourist who cannot handle the life in a low-income neighborhood. She expressed that they placed fault on her for “not taking advantage of opportunities and for not putting enough effort into integrating herself fully.” She insists that she spent a lot of time integrating herself into her host family, precisely because she could not integrate herself into her community. When she did move from the house with about seven weeks left in the program, she did so with a heavy heart, knowing that she did like the relationship she had developed with the family and did not want to leave them. Rather, it was the neighborhood and the safety concerns it had presented that had led her to leave. Nevertheless, on her feedback card (a glorified report card), she received a one on a five point scale in the area of the homestay, with the comment, “not integrating yourself into the community and not making an effort to do so.”

Grace’s feelings of sadness at leaving the family were compounded by the fact that Mauricio was not straightforward with the host family about the fact that she was leaving for good. She understood that Mauricio told the family that she was leaving for awhile but would be returning a few weeks later, with the actual intention of calling the family during that time to announce a change of plans. At the time she reported this, she had no idea if the family still even knew that she was not returning. This made her feel very bad, as if she was being dishonest with them, especially when she talked to them on the phone. Grace said Mauricio thought that not telling the family outright would be the most sensitive way of dealing with the situation, which she strongly disagreed with. During her interview, her voice wavered and her eyes filled with

tears in expressing her desire to talk to her former host family without feeling like she was hiding something and to gain closure on that experience by still being able to be in contact with them.

In the meantime, Grace also experienced disappointment with her apprenticeship assignment. Grace was hoping to work in an apprenticeship that would provide her insight into economic development. Her apprenticeship site was in Pau de Lima at the Instituto Aliança, a very large NGO in Salvador. Institute Aliança has many branches and she was assigned to the area that provides professional training to unemployed young adults. Her role with the organization was essentially as a student in the course along with young adults from Salvador. When the next phase of the program was to do a hands-on training at a meat-packing plant, Grace, a vegetarian, knew she would not continue as a trainee. She sought a meeting with the director of her apprenticeship at Instituto Aliança to clarify her role, which she described as, “I mean its supposed to be like a volunteer, more like a job, than being in it for our own class.” They discussed the possibility of starting an English class, but that was frustrating to her since she had originally proposed that idea when she arrived and this was now half-way through her time in Salvador. The director then said that her new role would be to help with the selection of the next group and she was thinking, “ok, well like, I didn't really sign-up to do an admissions course, like I want to do economic development, like, more hands-on work, like, at least like teaching, and like helping the teachers instead of like, con, being considered exactly equal to a student.” As she confronted the fact that her time was half over, she expressed her desire to make more of an impact. “I've had students confront me, like, ‘its really great that you're here, showing us that like opportunities are available to do exchange programs,’ but like, I don't want the only impact I have to be the fact that, I'm literally there, like I want to be actually working and doing something and feeling accomplished, and, so that hasn't, been there yet.”

The Instituto Aliança apprenticeship only happened in the mornings and due to the December holidays, there was a long break. During afternoons and the break, Grace took it upon herself to try to find a different organization with which she could do her apprenticeship. She found a microfinance organization in Salvador through an Internet search and got in contact with the president in order to initiate the process of turning that into her apprenticeship. She handed the reigns to Mauricio to work out the details. He insinuated that things were going to pan out, but then a few weeks later told her that the arrangement had fallen through. She knew from the first e-mail communication between Mauricio and the president of the microfinance organization that she was copied on, that Mauricio not only had sought a position for her with the organization, but actually had asked if there was space for two other GCY tourists. Ultimately Mauricio told Grace that the reason it did not work out was because the organization realized it was not ready to take on new volunteers.

With nothing to do at Instituto Aliança and her arrangement with the microfinance organization falling through, Grace ultimately decided to join up with Sasha, one of her program-mates and go with her to her apprenticeship where they would team-up on a community project together for the last six weeks of the program.

### ***Discussion***

Grace's story reveals a number of insights about tourists' inclusion. First of all, her expectation for inclusion was influenced by a previous experience in an entirely different context. This is not unusual, as many tourists compare their experiences with previous ones; however, it is flawed as it assumes a sameness among hosts across destinations. Because inclusion, unlike immersion, is not solely dependent on the tourist, the host is a crucial part of the process. One cannot assume that hosts in one destination will be like those in another or that all



hosts in a single destination are the same. Letting one experience of inclusion set the expectation for another does not take into account the specific context of a given host. The tendency to compare experiences ignores the important role of hosts in inclusion, and for this reason it further emphasizes that inclusion for tourists is often misunderstood as merely one aspect of immersion. Thus, the problem with comparing experiences illustrates how conflating inclusion with immersion is problematic.

Another thing Grace's account shows is just how important inclusion is to her. She really expected the host family to include her and when that did not happen she was willing to give up on some of the comforts and conveniences of this family's home to get a family that would include her more. Grace's first host family was providing her with an immersive experience into a family that rents out rooms to foreign tourists to earn income. This family, was not, however, including her into their lives and did not want her to bring her life into their home. Her comments also show that she was looking for her host family to provide access to society in Salvador more generally by not being so closed-off and elitist.

Grace's experience at the second homestay shows how being included into the family is a good start, but not sufficient if the tourist is feeling excluded in society more broadly. Grace's discomfort because of the potential violence she could face led her to not feel at home, or to not feel included, although she was immersed in a very particular environment where people do need to be careful and tend to spend a lot of time in their homes. As mentioned in the previous chapter, violence and insecurity are complicated parts of inclusion because on the one hand to worry about being a victim is to experience the norm for Salvador residents, but on the other hand to worry is to not feel at home, safe or included. Thus, there are different ways to interpret the experience of being exposed to violence and insecurity. In Grace's case her comments and

the ultimate outcome of moving from the neighborhood suggest that her worry led her to not feel included. Grace's concerns about standing out and people asking if she was lost, further reminded her that she did not belong there. These feelings proved to be more powerful than the feelings of inclusion that she gleaned from her host family. She did end up staying there for a long time, legitimately developing a bond with the family members, but being so cut off from everyone and everywhere else did not provide the sense of inclusion she was seeking. The fact that this family and neighborhood are of a low socio-economic class is significant as we consider the way tourism to low-income areas can affect social inclusion.

Grace's program, GCY contributed to her not feeling included with her second family when Mauricio was not truthful with the family about her leaving, thus driving a wedge between her and them. This was particularly upsetting to Grace as demonstrated by her tearing up while explaining this situation to me in her interview. The intense emotion combined with her analysis of the situation and what it meant for the host family indicates that she had spent time reflecting deeply on the situation and her role within the family. The dishonesty of GCY is not unlike what some of the host families reported doing when they did not get on well with the tourists. Sonia, in particular, whose experience was recounted in the previous chapter reveals how host families also engage in deceptive practices. In Grace's case the dishonesty impeded her ability to maintain a close relationship with the family; but beyond that, it demonstrated a pattern of exclusion of the host family. To hide the truth to protect the family is patronizing and does not respect that they would be able to handle the truth. One of the host mothers discussed in chapter five had a similar experience when a tourist left and said, "eu senti que esta mentindo. Ela nao foi verdadeira... Agora, eu não gosto de mentira porque queria que ela fosse muito mais verdadeira: olhe nao vou ficar por isso, por isso por isso." (I felt that she was lying. She was

not truthful...Now, I don't like lies because I wanted her to be much more truthful: look I'm not going to stay because of this, this and this.) Clearly she would have preferred to know what was really going on. If GCY was really trying to demonstrate an attitude of respect and inclusion of the host families from marginal neighborhoods, they would also offer them an opportunity to know the truth.

The program staff furthered Grace's feelings of not belonging and not achieving inclusion by giving her a low score on her feedback card. Since the program staff gave that low score it would appear that they did not know about the close relationship she formed with the family (calling them even when she was off traveling with her friends), and based their decision on the fact that she was compelled to move despite the close relationship. While third party perceptions of inclusion are less relevant than those of the people directly involved, it likely plays a role in one's own perception, especially when it comes in the form of an evaluation form a superior.

Grace's experience with her apprenticeship illuminates the importance of inclusion happening on one's own terms, and that it does not solely depend on the hosts. Levine, Moreland and Hausmann discuss how during the process of inclusion, both the person seeking inclusion as well as the including group seek to attain goals (2005). When they are both satisfied, inclusion happens. Just as the locals struggled with tourism happening on their terms in order to feel like it was successful in fostering inclusion, the tourists' perception of whether or not they are being included is fundamental to the process. Although some of the local students expressed gladness that Grace was there in their class, Grace felt that it was not sufficient as she wanted to have more of an impact than just being there. Thus, even if the local population included her, it did not mean inclusion to her since it was not also on her terms. For Grace, the terms of her inclusion in a work or volunteer site were that she should feel productive and make

an impact while doing something that she was interested in. While her expectation, given that she did not have any professional work experience, may be unrealistic, it illustrates what the expectation for inclusion looks like for her. The expectation of being productive while engaged in a cosmopolitan aspiring tourist program was a finding that Snee reveals in her study of UK gap year travelers (2014). Having been productive or accomplished something is a sign that one can work in another environment, thus proving his/her cosmopolitan status and inclusion into the host society. Thus, it is hardly unusual that Grace and other members of her program sought to accomplish things and were then frustrated when it did not happen.

As tourists in other programs found, sometimes their programs contributed to their lack of inclusion. For Grace, GCY interfered with her inclusion by botching the arrangement she was making to apprentice with the microfinance organization. I interviewed the president of that organization, Ricardo, who told me that because it was the beginning of the calendar year he had to turn down GCY because the organization could not be spending so much time training people. While Ricardo did not explicitly say that three volunteers were too many, it is logical to think that he had been open to bringing Grace on board, since she was clearly a go-getter and very interested, having found the organization on her own. However, when Mauricio wanted to bring in two more people, it may have become too much for Ricardo at a busy time of the year. Thus, it is probable that alone, Grace could have found a place that would have included her on her own terms had it not been for the organization that champions integration, getting in the way.

## **6.2 Alvaro's story**

Like Grace, Alvaro was an 18-year-old tourist participating in GCY. He originally came from Houston, Texas, where both his parents work as university professors. Also, like Grace, Alvaro experienced deep frustration with his apprenticeship. Alvaro also did his apprenticeship

at Instituto Aliança, but in the sport and leisure division located in the neighborhood of Pernambués. Of the apprenticeships offered, this was the one that Alvaro initially thought he had wanted. This division of the organization runs programs for low-income youth from nine to seventeen-years-old. Alvaro thought he would work there with the youth. During his first three weeks, the only thing he said he did was play soccer with the kids. Initially that was fine with him as he felt it was during the early period when he should merely be building relationships with the kids. He expected that those relationships would eventually allow him to have serious conversations with them about important issues like “what it means to be a man” and “machismo.” He had assessed masculinity to be an important issue as, “they don't treat women very nicely and there's a bunch of traditional roles that lower-income women are in, and it passes generationally from mother to daughter.” However, after three weeks of not making any progress, he talked to the GCY program coordinator saying, “what do these kids really think about me, they, they don't really understand why I'm here.” He acknowledged his limited Portuguese having been a factor in his inability to present himself fully, and felt that while playing soccer was great, he wanted to see the bigger picture of what he should be accomplishing. As he expressed:

I was like 3 weeks into that apprenticeship, and I had already felt really bad about myself because I hadn't done anything. I hadn't built a wall, I hadn't painted anything I hadn't you know, had an English class, I hadn't done anything like that, and I'm like oh, what am I doing? So, already my preconceived notion of what it means to volunteer abroad, in a third world country is being shattered because its the wrong—the idea is like crazy, you can't just walk into a place and expect to do something. Who are you?

So as Alvaro came to terms with the fact that his initial idea about how to approach the apprenticeship was not going to work, he sought suggestions from the program director during his “coaching” meetings about how to have a more productive experience.

The program director suggested becoming friends with the supervisor at the apprenticeship,

which Alvaro worked on, and in the meantime continued to try to understand the kids he was working with. But his discouragement continued as he he got to a point where he was feeling, “I’m trying to understand where you’re (to the kids) coming from and I’m trying to, really understand, but like, you guys (the kids) aren’t really trying to understand me.” So he further insisted that the program director facilitate communication about what his role was, saying, “we need to talk to the heads and we need to fix this, because, it’s not working out, they don’t understand what I’m doing, the people that, are there, don’t understand what I’m doing.” Further to the point, Alvaro was frustrated because there was no apparent (to him) structure to the organization. He could show up one day and no kids would be there because of bad weather, or a holiday he did not know about. Ultimately, the GCY program’s response was that he needed to be more patient, so several more months went by with no major change. Alvaro was finally able to communicate to his apprenticeship supervisor that he would like to at least teach an English class. However, as that option became more of a reality, Alvaro realized he did not have the skills to be able to teach English to a bunch of kids who were not interested in learning. Moreover, with the summer holidays and vacations in Salvador, an already seemingly haphazard arrangement became even more chaotic as the city shut down for Christmas and *Reveillon* (New Year), and then other celebrations like the *Lavagem* of *Bonfim* (Cleansing of a sacred church), the Feast of *Yemenja* (a Candomble deity) and Carnival. For Alvaro, little progress was made from mid-December until end of February, when the kids started returning from their vacations and festivities.

During that time, Alvaro’s parents, who had heard of his frustration contacted the U.S.-based office of GCY to get answers. Their concern pressured the local Salvador staff to get more involved. Their involvement led to Alvaro getting the opportunity to shadow one of the Instituto

Aliança coordinators as he visited different sites. While this was a step in the right direction for Alvaro, it was a far cry from the productive activities he had envisioned himself working on.

With about a month to go in his time in Salvador, Alvaro was planning to organize a World Cup tournament for the youth as his required GCY community project. However, the Instituto Aliança staff member who was in charge of the soccer activity that Alvaro had been working on suddenly quit and all the kids stopped attending the program. Thus, his World Cup plan was also defeated.

Alvaro reflected on his experience and that of others in GCY saying that they wasted their time in Salvador. “It's the way I was raised, and certainly the society that I was raised in, was, you want to be productive, you want to mean something to someone else, therefore you mean something in general.” As he went through the experience, he realized that his understanding for what it means to be productive had changed, but he was not able to shake feeling bad because he felt he had not accomplished anything.

In the homestay, Alvaro was living in an upper-middle class neighborhood in the center of Salvador. His host family had hosted female tourists from other programs before, and Alvaro was their first male tourist. He enjoyed good conversations with members of his family and was invited to go out with those family members living with him as well as extended family. His host family invited him to return and stay with them during the World Cup. Alvaro reported that his family served as a tight-knit community for him, which in general is absent from the neighborhood in which he was living. When his actual family visited him towards the end of his time in Salvador, they brought many gifts including an i-pad for the host mom. Alvaro discussed how this gift-exchange was an eye-opening experience for both him and his host mom about the limitations and/or luxuries with which the other lives.

In anticipation of the end of the program, Alvaro had a job interview via Skype. According to Alvaro, the interviewer told him, “as soon as you started talking about your program, I knew I wanted to hire, you.” Alvaro was thinking:

Regardless of— you don't know the entire story, and that's fine, I'm glad. But, it's also to my advantage, like this is a great thing to put on the resume, and regardless of how it's handled here, in Brazil, Ecuador's really, really, like the program is really strong, same with Senegal, and, it's getting a lot of national attention and this is a good movement to be a part of, regardless of so much bullshit.

### ***Discussion***

Alvaro's story confirms some of the same issues surrounding inclusion for tourists that Grace's story shows. First of all, he had a very strong desire for inclusion. This is seen through his experience at his apprenticeship where he was very concerned that the people did not know what he was doing there. Alvaro's sense of urgency in getting that cleared up, shows the intensity of his desire. His appreciation for his relationship with his host family, where he was included also demonstrates that interest in being included.

Alvaro's experience at his apprenticeship also shows the tendency to connect inclusion with a productive experience and for productivity to be the terms of inclusion for cosmopolitan tourists. This is similar both to Grace and to the tourists studied by Snee (2014). Alvaro was concerned very early on that he was not accomplishing anything of significance, and that really bothered him. He was present at the site, but he was not being included insofar as his goals for being there were not being acknowledged. Like Grace, Alvaro's expectations for what he could accomplish appear misguided given that he himself was only one year older than the oldest kids attending the soccer program, but that expectation still plays into Alvaro's perception of being included or not. Moreover, Alvaro shows an astute awareness of his own desires saying that he seeks to be productive, indicating that while the GCY tourists' misguided expectations may



reflect a lack of maturity, they also have a tendency to demonstrate a fairly mature self-reflexivity on some occasions.

Through Alvaro's story we see the expectation by the tourist that inclusion be a two-way street, not just something that the tourists do, which follows the system of rights and responsibilities that Urry (2000) puts forth and is discussed in chapter five.. Alvaro very clearly shows that expectation when he tells of how he was feeling regarding the youth's lack of understanding of him despite the efforts he was making. (This is not to make the case that Alvaro's efforts were sufficient in fostering a relationship, but this is what he was perceiving). Because Alvaro felt they were not making an effort to understand him he was not feeling included. In addition, this further demonstrates the idea that inclusion happen on one's own terms. Alvaro may have been included by the host organization to the extent that he was allowed to go there and play soccer every day, but that was not what he wanted. He was looking for a deeper connection, much like what GCY tells tourists they will find.

In addition to potentially misleading Alvaro, the GCY organization contributed to his lack of inclusion by not facilitating communication with the apprenticeship site. The program's reluctance to get involved may have been primarily due to its desire to not interfere with the local organizations. Despite insisting on integration, the program appeared to take the stance that integration and inclusion are entirely the responsibility of the tourists, not the local people with whom they live and work, and therefore the local people and organizations should not be expected to change at all. In terms of social inclusion literature, that perspective maps more closely onto the idea of assimilation rather than integration or inclusion because the onus is entirely on the newcomer to fit in (Alba and Foner 2015). Because of its stance favoring assimilation, rather than having a conversation with the apprenticeship site staff and ensuring,

from an official perspective, that the organization was aware of what Alvaro would like to be doing with them, they put the responsibility on Alvaro to communicate his terms. Meanwhile, GCY also adopted a discourse of deference (McKenna 2014) saying that tourists should not be too assertive, and rather than making demands should let the organization decide what it needs. Thus GCY further confuses the situation through its contradictory and imprecise language. If GCY advocates inclusion or integration, then there has to be give-and-take between the tourist and host organization.

Despite the obstacles to feeling included and his overall dissatisfaction with parts of his experience. Alvaro recognizes that the experience alone is very valuable and that not everyone needs to know the degree to his success in Salvador. In this way he is able to market his experience however he would like, ensuring that no matter the lack of productivity or accomplishment, he can still make the experience work for him.

In terms of his homestay, Alvaro did have a family that communicated with him regularly and invited him to go out with them and participate in family activities. For that reason he was feeling included with the family. Notably, his family was also middle class and living in a middle to upper-middle class neighborhood. Although he did not develop a feeling of community in his neighborhood where he lived, it is because that neighborhood does not offer that arrangement to anyone, so he was not missing out.

### **6.3 Sasha's story**

Sasha, an 18-year-old from rural New Jersey, also participated in GCY. She expected to live with a low-income family as that was the impression the program gave and that was precisely what she signed up for: an experience drastically different from what she was used to. Although she came into the program with very high expectations for what the host family

relationship would be like, her experience and expectations were quickly dashed because of some misunderstandings between GCY and the host family to whom she was originally assigned. The family she was supposed to stay with had recently disintegrated and the only person left in the home where she was dropped off was a newly single man who occasionally had his kids with him. He was not prepared to host Sasha on his own and the program was not prepared to leave her in that situation. She did not even spend one night there and instead was taken nearby, to Janice's home, where another GCY tourist, Stephanie, was staying. This was supposed to be a temporary arrangement while a different host family could be arranged. Sasha ended up staying over a month at Janice's house with Stephanie. This is how she described the situation:

It was completely, like I was so uncomfortable, I was thrown into this low-income neighborhood, not knowing anything, not really speaking Portuguese, not knowing who I was living with, not living with the people who I— the person who I was told I was going to living with. And, and then being asked questions like, how long are you going to be living here, by the woman I was living with, and like, what's your name and who are you? And like what's your program, and I was just like really freaked out and uncomfortable, and like, someone needs to brief her on my program, I need to be in a homestay that like, you know, with people who are like, going to feel invested in having me there, like for a really long time. I was really set on this idea of wanting to feel a part of the family.

In Janice's house, Sasha was an outsider. She described herself as the “gringa who hung out in the corner and said hi, but never got involved” due to the temporary nature of her stay there. In this capacity, she also witnessed the relationship between Stephanie and Janice, which she referred to as “rotten” and “spoiled.” She felt that her experience in Janice's home with Stephanie really destroyed her hopes for the host family experience to be an entree into Salvador.

By the time she left Janice's home and was assigned to her own host family in a lower-middle class neighborhood, she found it to be lackluster, but better than the situation she had just left. For that reason, she accepted the arrangement even though she frequently referred to her experience as being like one in a hotel:

They treat my existence like I'm living in a hotel. That's how they interpret cultural exchange, like making me as comfortable as I possibly can be. So that they can keep receiving their payments and maybe get a new student next year. It's like, oh my god, don't do your dish, like don't you wash that dish, like, leave it, leave it, like oh I'm going to go in your room and clean everything for you, and like sweep your floor. That's what they do, they don't allow me to like lift a finger, and that's how they think, like being good family is. Like cooking all my meals and like not allowing me to do anything.

Nevertheless, Sasha did not eat a lot of meals in the home because, as she put it, “they make horrible food.” Sasha described her host family as loving her, but her not liking them and for that reason, as her time was winding down, was not interested in continuing to put effort into her relationship with them. She received a three out of five in her feedback card for her homestay, which she disagreed with on the basis that if she could get the family to like her despite not liking the family, she was doing ok.

Sasha said that when she started the program, she based her expectations for developing a close relationship to her host family off of other people she knew who had participated in similar immersion programs and had developed great relationships with their host families and maintained them after leaving. “Since being here, I have, totally reversed that sentiment, in the sense that, I don't know, the people you live with are the people you live with, and like, I think that if you develop meaningful relationships with people who are not necessarily the ones you live with, then that's just as sufficient.”

In some ways, Sasha had lower expectations for her apprenticeship than she had with the host family in terms of inclusion. As she described in her first interview, “The reality is that none of these NGOs [the ones the GCY tourists are apprenticing with] have the work for people, especially us, we're unqualified, we, I mean, we don't bring that much to the table.” Sasha's apprenticeship was to work at an NGO that offers an after-school music program for youth in the neighborhood where she was originally assigned to live. As she came to understand during her

time in Salvador, this NGO actually ran into some financial problems three weeks before her arrival and it had lost all of its funding. It was technically shut down for the next six months, which was essentially her entire time in Salvador. It officially reopened five weeks before her departure from the city. Because it was not operating, not many kids were showing up and she felt that there was not a lot that she could do.

The reopening of the NGO more-or-less coincided with Sasha's determination to do her community project there, which Grace, who was no longer working with her apprenticeship, joined in on. Sasha had had the idea of constructing a garden since she had arrived at the apprenticeship site, but it never took off. As the end of her time in Salvador grew closer, she wanted to something to show for herself. As she describes, "So much of Mauricio's (GCY program coordinator) response is I respect the work ethic in Bahia. Like, I respect, that things move slowly here. Its like, I don't know, why? I don't. I'm sick of it, like I respected that for a really long time, and I'm at the point where like, I have 5 more weeks to do something meaningful, and like, if I'm going to have to hold my supervisor's hand through the whole process. I will. It's really frustrating and like, our setbacks are, innumerable."

Sasha had the impression that the idea of a garden had been of previous interest to João, the director of the NGO, and he always supported the idea in words, if not in actions. Grace's father, a landscaper, had exposed her to gardening, so it was not something completely out of left-field for the two of them to tackle. Nevertheless, the garden project led to immense frustration for Sasha.

She received authorization from João for the garden about two weeks prior to the reopening of the NGO and he designated an area of the yard to use for it. Sasha and Grace started clearing the land with the only tools they had at their disposal: a machete and a shovel.

The plot of land for the garden had significant overgrowth of grass, weeds and garbage. Sasha had noticed that there was a large red thing sitting in the back yard, but had no idea what it was. After several days clearing the long grass and garbage from the area where the garden was going to go, Sasha noticed that there were stakes in the ground very near to the site of the garden. One of the youth informed her that those stakes were marking the area where the pool (the large red object) was going to go. She was surprised that they would put the pool so close to the garden, but carried on without questioning the decision. The next day when she arrived, the whole area for the pool, including some of the space for the garden had been dug up with a tractor leaving a seven-foot pit for the pool. At that point, João told Sasha that the garden was too close to the pool and would have to be moved. Sasha pointed out to João that they had spent a week and a half manually clearing the space, and he said that the new site would be cleared with the tractor by the following Monday. When that did not happen, Sasha said her feelings amounted to the following, “I cannot believe that you have no respect for our work, like, we're like, out there sweating and like really kind of doing a ridiculous amount, the grasses were like this tall, (indicates knee level) its like disgusting, and we're like out there working, by ourselves, like we recruited a couple of guys who were helping us, but it's really just us trying to do something.”

Ultimately, after several more days of waiting for the land to be cleared, João told Sasha and Grace to just go back to the original area but move it back away from the pool. Sasha and Grace continued to work on the garden with the help of a few of the youth attending the after-school program. Some of the youth asked Sasha and Grace who will take care of the garden after they leave, which Sasha reported to be disheartening. According to Grace, the youth did not seem to entirely grasp the value of the garden. Before leaving, Sasha and Grace felt satisfied with what they were able to accomplish although they had to go way over budget and GCY was

not interested in reimbursing them for the expenses they incurred.



**Figure 5.** Sasha and Grace working to clear the area for the community garden.



**Figure 6.** The inauspicious pool: a symbol of Sasha's lack of inclusion in her apprenticeship.

In terms of developing a community, Sasha was unable to do that in either of the neighborhoods surrounding where she lived. In neither the peripheral, low-income neighborhood, nor in the central, lower-middle class neighborhood was there a custom of hanging around outside with neighbors. Neither neighborhood was seen as very safe, especially after dark. The community surrounding Sasha's apprenticeship site, was more convivial, but also had a reputation of being unsafe. Sasha recalled an experience where she went with two teenage girls from the community and another foreigner to a store in the neighborhood. The other foreigner paid for something with a 50R note (25USD) and the two local girls told the two foreigners that they needed to hurry back to the NGO site because the store employees would call their friends to rob them after letting them know how much cash they were carrying. It was "terrifying" to Sasha that people would go to such lengths to get a little money from someone else, but ultimately nothing happened to them on their way home. These types of situations, made it hard for Sasha to trust people and she expressed frustration about that towards the end of her time in Salvador. Sasha did develop a relationship with a local man whom she met at the bookstore where the group did their Portuguese classes. They started dating in November and remained together throughout Sasha's time in Salvador. This was the closest relationship she had with someone from Salvador during her time there.

### ***Discussion***

Sasha's experiences in her homestay and with her apprenticeship further emphasize the tendency for tourists to expect inclusion and the idea that inclusion only occurs if it is on the tourists' terms. Sasha frequently mentions her expectation to be included by the family: developing a close relationship with the family, that the family would be the entree into Salvador society, and criticizing what the family is/is not doing for her. Those expectations came from the



GCY message as well as through hearing about other people's experiences in other contexts, raising the same issues as mentioned in the discussion of Grace's story. Sasha's discomfort at being an outsider at Janice's home also illustrates her desire to be included. Even as Sasha came to terms with the fact that she may not get an inclusive relationship via the family, it was evident that she was still seeking that elsewhere when she said that developing meaningful relationships with people outside the family were just as sufficient.

Sasha's attitude towards what the family did for her and the fact that the host family seemed to really love her illustrates how the family's willingness to include does not automatically lead to inclusion if it is not on the tourist's terms. Sasha did not feel that the family offered her the inclusive experience she was originally hoping for. Their proclamations of affinity for her rang hollow and fueled her suspicions of ulterior motives. The program giving her a three out of five for her homestay reveals that the program held the perception that unless the tourist does his/her part, they are not included, even if the family is receptive to the tourist. Sasha's disagreement with this is likely a reflection of how deeply cynical she became about the host family relationship.

Sasha, like Alvaro and Grace, demonstrated a sufficient self-awareness to suggest that she was not just a self-absorbed tourist with little to no understanding of her surroundings. In her case, she had more realistic expectations of her value to the organization ("We don't bring that much to the table") she was apprenticing with than did Alvaro and Grace. And while she did not acknowledge her expectation for inclusion at her apprenticeship in the same way she did for the host family experience, she did demonstrate her expectation through other comments and attitudes. For example, her frustration with her apprenticeship supervisor in that he did not respect her work, shows an expectation that, like Alvaro, this acceptance and appreciation should

go both ways. Because it was not, she was not feeling included. In addition, like Grace and Alvaro, Sasha sought to accomplish something, which fits with a desire to acquire cosmopolitan status and demonstrate one's inclusion in the host community. Accomplishing something became an obsession as her time in Salvador drew to a close. Despite facing so many setbacks, not getting an enthusiastic response from the youth she was working with, and having to pay for many supplies out-of-pocket, she still insisted on completing the garden. In the process of trying to accomplish something and in doing so, to feel included, she was repeatedly reminded of her lack of inclusion based on the decisions made by João that did not show consideration for her goals or her work. That was why success with the garden became so important: it would offer her the ultimate inclusion, even if she did not feel that way throughout the journey.

Sasha's experiences staying with Janice in a low-income neighborhood and apprenticing in one provide insights into the intersections between cosmopolitan tourists and low-income communities. Sasha did not have a great experience feeling included in general in Salvador, so her experience in low-income neighborhoods was not necessarily different from anywhere else in the city. However, the specifics of some of her interactions demonstrate how her desire for social inclusion took precedent over other attitudes of acceptance and appreciation of the hosts, which are perhaps more concerning with people who already are not fully included in their city. This will be discussed in more depth in the conclusion.

The GCY organization contributed to her lack of inclusion because of the problem with the homestay. While, not intentional, the fact that there was not a back-up plan to place Sasha in a homestay of her own, led her to not only not be included, but to lose her faith in that aspect of the experience altogether. When tourists spend time together, it limits the degree to which they are immersed in the local culture, which in turn makes it more challenging to obtain social

inclusion in the destination.

#### **6.4 Stephanie's Story**

Stephanie, 19, also participated in the GCY program. Originally from northern New Jersey, Stephanie was an experienced immersion tourist having spent a year in Germany in the AFS program. Unlike the previously mentioned tourists, Stephanie started out with pretty negative feelings about host families. “To be honest I would much rather to never live with a host family again, not because I, they're always like bad people, but its like an awkward expectation to like, live with a host family, um, the whole ideal is like pretty idealistic if anything.” She did, however, recognize their usefulness in learning a new language.

Stephanie's story began at Janice's house in Uruguai neighborhood where Sasha soon accompanied her. She described the overall living situation as “really bad” and speaks of the specific experience of living with Sasha, “we lived together, which meant that we we spoke English every day, every minute, so that did not help my Portuguese.” She understood GCY to be an immersive experience in which the tourists were not in contact with each other. This was far from the truth for her. To make matters worse for Stephanie, she said she hardly ever saw her host family. The host mom, Janice had two unrelated young women living in her home, all of whom worked a lot according to Stephanie. Janice was the director of a community center in the low-income neighborhood in which she lived, a neighborhood that was also a part of the Astro, community-based tourism organization. The fact that the members of the household were seldom home did not allow Stephanie to get language practice in her home. Moreover, she felt that the area around her home was very dangerous causing her to never know when she could safely leave the house. When she did leave, she was nervous to walk around alone, and her objective was merely to get from point A to point B and run in between. She never felt welcome

there. This, to her, was not a functional situation.

Tensions arose regarding money because Janice would take the two tourists to the nearby island of Itaparica, a place where many people from the city of Salvador go for the weekends. The tourists were expected to pay their own way including transportation, meals, and water. Stephanie did not think that this was how the arrangement was supposed to be. She said, “It was awkward because I didn’t want to be rude and say you should be paying for me, you’re getting paid 30 reais (15USD) a day.” In her observations of her own and other GCY tourists’ situations, the lower-income host families like Janice, “are a lot more stingy with GCY money, and they actually don’t feed you as much and instead start making all these random home improvements.” Stephanie felt like the money that Janice was being paid to take care of her and Sasha was not, in actuality going for that purpose.

Further, Stephanie felt very controlled at Janice’s house. She described Janice as “crazy and very extreme but with a good heart and good intentions.” Stephanie perceived Janice to be very nervous to host her and Sasha, thinking that they were her utmost responsibility. For that reason Janice expected them to be home by nine o’clock every night. When they were not home by that time, Janice assumed negative things about them: that they were coming home completely drunk, which Stephanie said they were not because it was against GCY rules. Stephanie felt that Janice was not understanding of “Salvador’s non-existent bus schedule,” which prohibited them from getting home on time. Stephanie also said that Janice did not like the tourists to stay overnight at someone else’s house, for example, if all the GCY tourists were staying at one of their houses for the night. Although she found Janice to be unrealistic, Stephanie also blamed GCY for not providing more structure and letting Janice know what to expect.

Although Janice did not admit to the tensions in her interview, it would appear as though the frustrations were mutual, as Joana, one of the Astro representatives from Uruguai who worked at the school where Stephanie did her apprenticeship said, “essas meninas eram problemáticas.” (Those girls were problematic). She elaborated by saying that they did not listen and always wanted to stay out late.

When Sasha moved from Janice’s house, so did Stephanie. Although Stephanie did not share a lot of the details about that transition, it would appear that Janice was not informed of the truth. When interviewing Janice, she revealed her understanding that Stephanie’s father had died and that she had gone back to the U.S. for a while and would later return to Salvador. Stephanie did go to the U.S. during the December holidays for family reasons, but her father had not passed away. Moreover, her trip to the U.S. did not coincide with her leaving nor was it the reason she left Janice’s home.

Stephanie moved from a low-income community, which she referred to as a favela, to a high-income place: a gated community near Salvador’s southeast coast. “I went from bucket showers to hot showers. It was crazy.” In her second family both parents were university professors who had spent seven years living in Germany. They had two young children ages two and one. Stephanie described this host family as really educated and a family with whom she “really feels comfortable.” At the time of her interview she reported talking to them frequently and liking them.

Despite those positive feelings she did experience moments of doubt, wondering if the first experience in the low-income community was not what GCY was supposed to be about. Nevertheless, she resolved, “I would much rather like, feel a little bit guilty and have a great host family than not have communication with my host family, and you know... and like, tough it

out.”

Her apprenticeship was originally at a community-run school in the neighborhood where Janice lived and worked, and was actually the same school that was affiliated with Astro. She was teaching English to 5-7 year-olds. She said that the children were not able to read Portuguese, so she did not know how to teach them English. After moving, it took her an hour and a half to get to the school and two hours to return, for only an hour and a half of teaching. “So that didn’t last long,” according to Stephanie. Since the summer break started soon after she moved from Janice’s home, she had an easy transition out of that situation. At the time of her interview in January, she was hoping to start a new apprenticeship, and in the meantime she was teaching English to some her host parents’ friends. She had originally told them she would do it as a volunteer, but later regretted this. Even her host parents thought she should be getting paid for it, which eventually started happening.

Stephanie was the first tourist in GCY’s history to leave temporarily during the program. She had to return home because it was the anniversary of a traumatic family experience. Her leaving the country illuminated an oversight by the program of having the tourists register with the Federal Police, a step in the visa process in Brazil. Because she was leaving and returning, she went to verify with the Federal Police that everything was in order. As it turned out, since she was supposed to register with the police within thirty days of arriving in Brazil, everything was not in order. The registration process involves bringing in an appropriate-sized photograph, a completed form, and a receipt of payment at an indicated bank to the office of the Federal Police at the Salvador airport, and then getting fingerprinted. The penalty for not having done this within the thirty day limit was a fine of eight Reais per day. By the time Stephanie was finding out about this, the fee was \$620 Reals (or \$310USD). Initially Mauricio encouraged her

to just risk it and not pay. Stephanie described this as Mauricio wanting to follow the Brazilian philosophy of the “jeitinho.” This philosophy encourages people to look for ways to skirt the system because it is seen as weaker to actually be held to the rules. He felt that the registration was just an arbitrary step in the process intended to hang people up and get money from the suckers who fall for it. However, in the end, all of the GCY tourists completed the registration and GCY paid their fines.

Overall, Stephanie felt like she was hanging out with the other tourists from her program much more than she had expected and found that to be annoying, although she did appreciate the good friendships she developed. She had not gotten involved in the communities surrounding either of the neighborhoods where she had lived in Salvador. The first one was too dangerous to hang around outside and the second was a gated community where no one hung around outside. She had expected to immerse herself more, but did feel accomplished for having learned her way around on the bus system. “I do feel independent, like I don't ever call anyone because I'm lost, I'm like I'll figure it out, um, so in that sense I feel like a citizen because I feel like in a city, that's mostly what we're in, but, in the culture, I feel like the citizens sometimes feel like outsiders, it depends on where you are in Salvador.”

### ***Discussion***

Stephanie's comments and attitude reveal that she seemed less bothered by her lack of inclusion in comparison to her fellow GCY tourists, appearing not to have had high standards for inclusion to begin with. It is true she wanted more immersion, but she seemed to be speaking about immersion in the true sense of the word, of spending more time with locals and not so much time with other foreigners. She acknowledged the value of the host family in providing an immersive language experience, and was discontent when that did not happen, but did not seem

upset about not developing a closer relationship with her first host family. Rather she seemed more upset about not having the freedom she wanted. She momentarily regretted her move away from the low-income neighborhood, having remembered that such was the experience that she had originally expected. Yet, she assuaged her guilt by reminding herself that she was getting more out of the new experience where she actually was communicating with the family (not necessarily developing a close relationship, but at least being social with them). Thus, she seemed to have a fleeting desire to connect with a low-income community, but her more innate interest was learning to communicate. Her lack of interest in inclusion likely had an impact on her behaviors and attitudes in Salvador, however, she also could not escape the fact that her program did advocate for developing inclusive relationships. Therefore, there was an underlying pressure even if she was better at avoiding it.

Her experience with her apprenticeship also reflects a lack of commitment to a deep experience. The inconvenience of a long commute deterred her quick enough from continuing at her original site. Although the fact that she turned to teaching English to the upper middle class may demonstrate inclusion in the part of society that she probably fit into better, it did not sound like that was the reason for her doing it. Nor, of course, was that the intention of a program whose priority was integration into lower-class communities. So, while Stephanie achieved a level of inclusion it was primarily with other foreigners and with members of the upper class.

Stephanie's narrative also shows some of the overlap between cosmopolitan tourists and low-income communities. The fact that she ended up both moving away from there and stopping her apprenticeship there is indicative of the challenges low-income neighborhoods face in retaining their tourists. The specifics of her experience and departure, including those not reported by Stephanie herself, provide additional insights into ways in which tourism, even



tourism based on an awareness of the realities faced by the host population can still result in negative feelings and exclusion for low-income locals. Again, this will be taken up in more detail in the conclusion.

### **6.5 Hilary's story**

Hilary, an 18-year-old tourist, also participated in the GCY program. She was raised in Germany where her father is from, but moved to the U.S. when she was 7-years-old. She attended a boarding school in Indiana for high school. Prior to starting the GCY program she worked as an au pair in Madrid and also participated in a tourism program in Alagoas, Brazil the summer before her senior year in high school. Hilary was easily distinguishable from the other GCY tourists first of all because she held Brazilian citizenship due to the fact that her mother is Brazilian. Her mother's family is from southern Brazil a place she had visited several times before, and where she, along with her actual mother, spent Christmas during the GCY program.

Second, Hilary distinguished herself because she was the only GCY tourist in Salvador that thoroughly supported the program. She very much embraced the concept of GCY in that it provided an intellectual curriculum paired with a hands-on experience that came together to "offer us, a stage, I guess, on which to develop as global citizens." Hilary decided to go to Brazil because she wanted to have the experience of living in Brazil rather than just going as a visitor, as she had done in the past.

Hilary's host family lived in a peripheral neighborhood of Salvador characterized as lower or lower-middle class. Her host family itself could be considered middle class. It consisted of a host mother and her two children (25 and 22) who were both in college. The older one had had the opportunity to visit the U.S. for a couple of weeks as part of an exchange unrelated to GCY prior to hosting Hilary. The family had internet in its home. Hilary described the amount of

money that the GCY host families got paid as “a very menial amount, but, that's part of the, incentive too, I guess, is that, the families don't do it for lucrative purposes, but rather because, they're willing to host somebody for the benefit of the exchange and that experience.”

Hilary developed a very close relationship with her host family saying, “I really do feel like part of the family.” She spent the most time with her host sister who invited her to do things with her including campaigning for a mayoral candidate on election day. Hilary described these interactions with her family as the purpose of being there; not hanging out with her GCY friends. “There's one boy, one guy that— we have really done more of the alternative, which is spending more time with our families and joining the community, and that was what I, that was my intention, um, and so that's been really important for me.”

In regards to her level of comfort and inclusion in the family she described how her host mother provided a snack bin for each of her children, keeping it stocked with some of their favorite snacks like different cookies and crackers to tide them over between meals. Hilary also received her own snack bin, which was tailored to her tastes. As she described, “the moment that I, finish off, like a thing of cookies, there's a new one there, um, and so, I'm very well provided for.”

Hilary ended up spending a lot of time in her house because she said there was not a lot to do in her neighborhood. However, by the last six weeks of her time in Salvador, she did feel that she had developed a sense of community in her neighborhood after joining a gym and meeting people at a wedding and then getting involved in the local chapter of the Rotary Club.

Hilary admitted that her living arrangement was the GCY ideal because she was living comfortably but was still exposed to some of the circumstances of living in a lower-income area. She distinguished her family from that of Grace's in Fazenda Coutos because of a higher

education level, especially that of her generation, and the values that both bring about the higher education levels and that stem from it.

Because Hilary supported the program, she became a voice for it, speaking about a multitude of people's experiences, not just her own. One thing she discussed was the frequency with which people in the program changed homestays. She said of the GCY tourists in the entire state of Bahia, she was one of five out of fifteen that had not moved. Within the city of Salvador, she is one of three out of six that had not. Regarding the moves she said it was difficult for the tourists because after getting settled in a community, they had to try to do that all over again when they moved. This really went against the program's, and often the tourists' goals. Hilary said that on the programmatic end, the moves were difficult because the staff had to scramble to find new families and "apologize to the old family and sort of arrange all of that and make amends." She further elaborated that the *modus operandi* for the Brazil program when dealing with a change in homestay was to obscure the situation and not explain the reason behind the move or even that a move was happening. Grace's story was one example of this. Janice's discussion about the passing away of Stephanie's father was another possible example, but Hilary discussed a third instance. She described how one GCY tourist, this one placed outside of the city of Salvador, had to move host families because her host brother had tried to make a move on her. The program provided support for the tourist to move to a new home, but little to no explanation was given to the family she had been living with about why such a situation could not continue. While Hilary herself did not have an experience like this, her host mother still expressed concerns that the program had not maintained an open dialogue with her to ensure that the experience was going smoothly.

At her apprenticeship Hilary was able to make progress in terms of working on satisfying

projects and developing a community. Her apprenticeship was an NGO that helped prepare young people for the college entrance exam. The people that frequent the NGO site, as well as a number of the staff, were in her general age range, thus permitting her to meet a lot of people her age with whom she could hang out and relate. When she first arrived at the NGO there was no plan in place for how she should get involved. She said she spent the first few months observing. One day she saw the need to develop an English class for one of the staff and anyone else who wanted to improve his/her English. So Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays she offered English tutoring sessions. She also developed a Saturday workshop on leadership in English that she delivered to anyone interested. She laughed about the situation because, “I came in wanting to do anything but teach English, but as I sort of, fell into that job, I realized that, its a really really fantastic skill that I have... it is something that I can offer.”

Feeling good about her apprenticeship did not preclude Hilary from frustrating experiences. She reported being upset when, during one of her Saturday workshops, twelve people showed up to attend, but the director of the NGO decided that they should attend a simultaneously occurring program instead of her workshop. She felt that her audience was stolen. Another frustrating moment occurred when she had to wait three hours for a scheduled meeting because one of the directors forgot and went to the beach instead. She said she recognized that this is symptomatic of the culture and ultimately did not take the situations personally.

Throughout her time in Salvador, Hilary confronted a lot of her feelings about global citizenship and Brazilian culture and society, trying to sort out which feelings were coming from her bias and which ones were legitimate concerns. She described this as a “culture war” because she was grappling with her German and Brazilian background as well as her German and U.S.

upbringing. Hilary acknowledged that for her, being a global citizen was, “Coming in and immersing and assimilating to your culture and seeing the needs rather than picking out needs from sort of like, a telescopic view when you come in, and then, band-aiding the things, you know.”

### ***Discussion***

In some ways, Hilary’s experience shows that inclusion is possible. She was included into her family, developing a close relationship with her host mother with whom she conversed candidly and with her host sister who invited her to participate in interesting activities. She did acknowledge that she was lucky in that there may have been a lesser cultural gap between her and her host family than what some of the other GCY tourists may have experienced. This acknowledgement again depicts a critical awareness, fairly common among the GCY tourists. Despite the challenges of her neighborhood, she eventually found ways to participate by going to the gym and even connecting with people at the Rotary Club.

In her apprenticeship she figured out how to make herself useful in a way that she felt good about. Her contentedness with her apprenticeship reiterates the idea that inclusion is tied to productivity for cosmopolitan-aspiring tourists. It is clear that she too was motivated to accomplish something, but unlike the other tourists, she was actually successful in doing that. One of the reasons for her success was her willingness to change. Hilary said that she came into the program not wanting to teach English, but ultimately that was what she ended up doing. She seemed happy enough about this change as it demonstrated to her the need to be flexible and adapt to the situation. However, it raises the question about how much a tourist needs to change in order to be included. Levine, Moreland and Hausmann (2005) indicate that in the process of inclusion, both parties need to be okay with the terms of inclusion. That may mean that some

change is necessary on both sides. It also means that some people seeking inclusion may be willing to change completely if staying the same is not part of their terms for inclusion. However, when the outsider is the only one to change, this follows the adaptation strategy of assimilation (Dovidio, et al., 2005). Hilary seemed more willing to change than other GCY tourists. In fact, she described global citizenship as “immersing and assimilating to your culture,” exactly what she did in Salvador. This falls more in line with GCY’s approach: advocating for assimilation, despite its language of integration. However, assimilation, like immersion, is different from inclusion and integration (Sciortino 2010; Alba and Foner 2015, Dovidio, et al., 2005). To obtain inclusion and integration, one should not be expected to abandon identities and desires in order to conform to the in-group. The conflation of notions of assimilation with inclusion or integration, which seems to be going on in the GCY organization, undoubtedly is leading to the frustrated experiences that the majority of the GCY tourists experienced.

In regards to showing the intersections between cosmopolitan tourists and low-income neighborhoods, Hilary’s experience in her neighborhood reflects some of that. However, as she acknowledged her family was a bit exceptional, with one child already having traveled abroad. Thus, her exceptional experience further emphasizes some of the tendencies typically experienced through tourism to low-income neighborhoods. In addition, her apprenticeship, located in the historic center, a place of heavy tourism traffic, was also unique among her fellow tourists, and does not provide much evidence for showing tourism into the peripheral neighborhoods.

Hilary’s narrative also further illustrates how tourist organizations contribute to social inclusion or exclusion of the locals. Her insights into GCY’s dishonest communication with host

families about why tourists leave their homes is an important part of understanding the intersections of the cosmopolitan tourist formation and locals seeking to be included through tourism which will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

The GCY organization and the experiences of the tourists who participated in it shed additional light on the desire for inclusion among the cosmopolitan formation of tourists as well as the challenges for obtaining inclusion. As with the tourists participating in other organizations, the GCY tourists, by and large, face numerous challenges to being included, and many of them do not have an overwhelming sense of inclusion by the end of their experience. The one who does, admits to having changed her activities from what she first wanted to do in order to find inclusion and success in her apprenticeship. The need to change in order to feel successful in this regard raises questions about whether this is really inclusion or some other process like assimilation. While there is nothing wrong with assimilation being a part of the process, it is not reflected in the language of the program or in the language of global citizenship to which these tourists are aspiring.

Moreover, what is apparent throughout all of the GCY tourists' narratives is that they are not in complete control of whether they achieve inclusion. Even Hilary, who felt included knows that part of her success is due to the fact that she was assigned to an exceptional homestay arrangement: living with a middle class, well-educated family, in a low-income neighborhood. In not acknowledging the unique characteristics of Salvador, its different neighborhoods and organizations and each individual family, it creates problems for the tourists not only in regards to not feeling included, but also in how they respond to not being included. Many of these tourists have pretty negative feelings about their homestay families, the apprenticeship

organizations and/or Salvador in general. This is quite the opposite of what global citizenship is supposed to promote. However, as Alvaro points out, not following through on global citizen ideals on the ground does not necessarily exclude one from the category from the bird's-eye perspective: resumes do not have to reflect the details of the experience. This suggests the continued privilege of the tourists seeking social inclusion. Even if they do not acquire social inclusion in the local context, they are still being socially included in the ultimate club of global citizens. Meanwhile, the negative attitudes these tourists may employ towards locals potentially have an exclusionary impact that is particularly unfortunate when it affects locals who are attempting to acquire social inclusion via tourism. This outcome as well as other conclusions will be analyzed and discussed in the remaining chapter.



## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSION**

This project explores tourism's potential to offer social inclusion to two very different groups of people in Salvador, Brazil: low-income locals working on tourism projects in their communities and international tourists with global citizen aspirations participating in activities that provide them with access to local people. Using the concept of the assemblage and the need to identify various strands that comprise the larger phenomenon (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), these two groups emerged due to a focus on several tourism trends that are becoming more popular in the global era: low-income tourism and a tendency to pursue tourism experiences that lead to acquiring cosmopolitan status. These two trends were identified as being able to provide insight into the social world in the context of globalization. Social inclusion of the two groups mentioned, then, served as the lens for what aspect of the social world would be highlighted and discussed through this project.

Each of the two groups explored in this project provide insights into their respective tourism trends, which are worth highlighting here in the conclusion. However, in addition, the overlap between these two groups, generally when cosmopolitan tourists engage in tourism to low-income neighborhoods, provides insights into the larger phenomenon of social inclusion in a global system where different levels intersect. Thus, this chapter will first address the conclusions that can be drawn regarding the research conducted of the low-income locals working on community tourism and then doing the same for the tourists engaged in immersive experiences. From there, it will analyze and draw conclusions about how the simultaneous quests for inclusion impact each other offering a broader understanding of social inclusion via

tourism in a global system. Finally it will discuss limitations and opportunities for future research on this subject.

### **7.1 Social inclusion for locals involved in low-income tourism**

While there is not an abundance of tourism scholarship on social inclusion in general, when the topic does surface in tourism literature, it has always analyzed social inclusion as a goal exclusively reserved for members of the destination population. Chapter four in this project, by focusing on the degree to which getting involved in tourism endeavors that originate in the community offers locals the opportunity to be socially included, adds to that body of literature. Through the data discussed in that chapter, we have gleaned a number of different insights.

First of all, the tourism goals discussed by several representatives of Astro communities illustrate that social inclusion for people in marginal communities is not solely about being included into the city more broadly. In addition to this, these community leaders are concerned about the degree of internal social inclusion or social cohesion of their neighborhoods. This is an important point that the community leaders make because social inclusion literature does not address the cohesion of the marginalized group as a factor in their inclusion. However, what these community representatives are pointing out and striving to achieve through their community tourism endeavors is the importance of the group coming together and people first feeling included there, before striving for inclusion more broadly. In addition, the emphasis on internal social inclusion allows for those in a position to be socially included to assume a degree of responsibility and become agents in the process. It suggests that social inclusion is not only something that outsiders have to work on, but it is something that can be improved upon internally as well. Of course this should not replace the responsibility that people in the

dominant group or in positions of power have to work towards including people on the margins, but this can be a way to frame goals for social inclusion in a more empowering way for the excluded.

In addition to highlighting the importance of inclusion at the internal level, this chapter also points to the importance of recognizing the inclusion that can occur for members of these communities at a global level. Globalization literature reminds us that in the global era, there are connections and disconnections, stoppages and flows (Appadurai, 1996, Seigel, 2009, Tsing 2005), and that there is an unevenness about the global encounters (Mendieta 2007). In the case of Astro, sometimes there is a lack of inclusion or acknowledgement on the local level, but on the global level there is recognition, showing some of that unevenness. International organizations and people make contacts that potentially lead to improved international cultural capital and access to the global community as was the case with the French tourists who stayed in contact with the youth from the Uruguai neighborhood. In addition, inclusion at the international level can translate into inclusion at the local level. International organizations and tour groups who visit the community and/or make donations, can provide the cultural validation and economic support that also connects the communities locally. By visiting, these tourists are suggesting that the communities are important spaces within the city potentially empowering the community members in relationship to their fellow residents. By providing them with funds, they can position themselves in a better position within the local economy. Thus, while there has not been a huge success in tourism in the low-income neighborhoods, the social inclusion at the global level, which from the comments made by the communities is not necessarily something that is given much thought, is important for the connections it brings on both the international and local levels.

A third point that emerges through the research on the locals involved in community tourism is that obstacles for establishing tourism and thus seeing tourism become a vehicle for social inclusion come from multiple directions. It is not solely an external force that disregards tourism in low-income communities. There are internal impediments as well. While some of those impediments go hand-in-hand with being socially excluded: having a negative self-image and not having much time to dedicate to tourism because there are so many other needs to address, it is still possible to attend to those issues in order to make tourism more successful. Again, focusing on things that can be done internally provide an opportunity to marginalized locals to have more agency in the process of gaining social inclusion.

Nevertheless, those changes are minimal compared to the external factors that impede tourism into low-income communities. Much of the changes to facilitate tourism need to happen at an institutional level: improving infrastructure like transportation and banking options, and improving access to education opportunities. Absent some of those infrastructural changes, changes in attitude can also make a difference. Government officials and other city residents' greater acceptance for tourism endeavors originating in low-income neighborhoods can increase these communities' access to tourism flows. Tourists' willingness to face some inconveniences or overlook the failure to follow protocols typically practiced in tourism or business, will mean that a lack of internationalization does not sink the tourism endeavor. Outsiders working with communities engaged in tourism can be more cautious of their impact on the communities, being especially careful of when their power or voice may silence community members. Outsiders' assertions of power can exclude low-income residents immediately or it can just make it harder for tourism to be successful, meaning that it won't prompt social inclusion.

Changes in attitude would also make a big difference when tourism is actually going on.

First of all it is important that the tourists have reasonable expectations for their community tourism experience so that they do not leave disappointed. But beyond that, if tourists were more willing to ensure that the experience is beneficial for the community, that would make a major difference in the low-income locals' willingness to continue putting effort into their community projects. The changes tourists can make are as simple as sticking to the established schedule and paying a percentage if they have to cancel last-minute, things that would be required in most other tours. A concerted effort to understand the reality of the community would also help to avoid negotiating too low, giving useless donations, and making more of one's presence as a tourist than it deserves.

Finally, the experiences of the people working in community tourism demonstrate the importance of how inclusion cannot happen unless the people seeking inclusion feel that it is happening on their terms. Levine, Moreland & Hausmann (2005) emphasize the importance of both parties having their needs satisfied, but the experiences of the Astro communities, in particular, paints a picture of what happens when one side is expected to give too much. This turns out to be a major obstacle for achieving social inclusion. While some of the problems could potentially be resolved as the communities come to see what is a valid trade-off, it still requires a conscientious group of tourists who are willing to work with the locals to find a middle ground. One likely group of tourists who may be pre-disposed to work with the locals are those that fit into the cosmopolitan formation of tourists. Among other traits, cosmopolitan tourists tend to be concerned about vulnerable groups (Bouregard and Bounds 2000), which may make them more conscientious of their impact on low-income communities engaging in tourism. I now turn to my conclusions on this sub-set of tourists and their quest for inclusion before evaluating the potential success of these groups coming together to prompt social

inclusion.

## **7.2 Social inclusion for tourists**

Because tourists' quest for social inclusion has not yet been explored, the present study opens the door for establishing a number of ideas about this phenomenon. The first point to establish is that we can consider social inclusion as something that some tourists are looking to achieve during their travels. It is true that the social inclusion tourists seek looks different from that which locals seek because they do not want social inclusion for the same reasons as locals and it is not being sought to overcome a history of exclusion. Nevertheless, they are still looking to be accepted and validated with the same opportunities as locals to move around the city tranquilly. The desire to be included has an impact on tourists' expectations, behaviors, interactions, and attitudes when they are traveling.

Tourists, like locals, were largely critical of their degree of social inclusion in Salvador. While many tourists found one setting where they felt included, overall, many felt that they had not achieved what they expected prior to arriving in Salvador. In some cases, the tourists revised their ideas of what was even possible to achieve by living in another country or living with a host family. Tourists' lack of success is due to a multitude of factors, but perhaps the largest contributor, and at least the one that tourists have the most control over is the lack of specificity of language describing their goals and agenda for social inclusion. The fact that social inclusion is rarely mentioned specifically and that instead inclusion and integration are more commonly seen as part of immersion is problematic. It makes it seem that for a tourist to be accepted, included and integrated into the host society is something entirely within their control. This has an impact on both tourists and locals. For tourists, this means that they expect this process to go smoothly based on the effort they put in and for it to be like other experiences they may have

had. Then, when things do not go as expected tourists vacillate between blaming themselves and denouncing the locals. The blame placed on the locals rarely acknowledges the complexity of locals' realities, and rather is an outcome of the tourists feeling threatened. This is a drastic change for a group of people who start out with an attitude of openness and appreciation towards the host population. Moreover, this attitude does not bode well for the inclusion of those locals who are seeking it through tourism, which will be discussed further in the next section.

The lack of precision with language is not only a problem on the individual tourist level. The conflation of immersion with inclusion and integration also happens in the language used by programs in which tourists participate and in academic tourism literature. Thus, changes can be made on these other levels to assist with managing tourists' expectations. However, even if the imprecision continues on those other levels, an individual tourist could recognize the inaccuracy of this language and change his or her expectations. For example, a tourist, rather than expect to be included, could concentrate solely on maintaining him or herself immersed. Or, a tourist could aim for inclusion, but understand that the end results are out of his/her control. Rather than be frustrated because of the lack of inclusion, the tourist can seek to understand what conditions are making inclusion challenging, thus providing the tourist with the insights to better assume the role of global citizen.

In the case of Salvador, one major characteristic that is often overlooked and makes inclusion challenging is the fact that hosting tourists in one's home is a business for many people, and could be a main source of income. Thus, they do it frequently in order to make money, not friends. That does not mean that friendships do not emerge from the experience, but it may not be something to count on. Moreover, the host families are required to provide certain things to the tourists based on the arrangements with the programs. Host moms mentioned

things like meals, laundry, or internet, but no one mentioned affect or friendship. Thus, it is within hosts' rights to not emotionally connect to the tourists. In addition, none of the hosts told me that they were given an orientation prior to starting to host with an organization and some explicitly told me there was not. In some cases a program sent someone to inspect the premises, but that shows that the priority is on meeting the spatial requirements, not the emotional desires of the tourists. An orientation may be helpful if there is a desire to have the hosts offer a certain type of experience to the tourists beyond just the physical comforts of a home. As it is, most programs do not put a major expectation on the host families to provide an affective relationship to the tourists, even though, that is often something the programs claim the tourists will find.

In general, there seems to be a hesitation on the part of the programs to put any expectations on hosts. This was particularly visible in the case of GCY where tourists were expected to resolve their issues on their own: improving their relationships with their families or figuring out solutions to be able to contribute to their apprenticeship organizations. Then when things got so bad, GCY just pulled the tourists out of the situations without an honest explanation to the hosts. At no point did GCY even want to have a conversation about something the hosts could do to improve the experience for the tourists. GCY's approach in this regard further demonstrates the imprecision of language regarding the issue of inclusion, because despite claiming that tourists will be integrated, a process that passes through a phase of inclusion, they are not thinking that the locals need to meet the tourists at some point in that process. Rather, the tourist needs to fit into whatever the local may want, and if the tourist does not, he/she has failed in that aspect of the experience, which will be duly noted on the feedback card. Then, tourists' feelings of not being included are coupled with feelings of inadequacy and failure, which does not make for a positive experience.



All of this raises the question of whether inclusion should be the goal of the tourists. It is clear that the GCY program is sending mixed messages about this goal. On the one hand, integration is promised, but on the other hand, it is not a true integration, but rather an assimilation where the locals are not expected to provide any particular experience to the tourists. Even though this causes significant stress for the tourists, it reflects a particular position regarding tourists that demonstrates an understanding of power differentials. In this case, this position suggests that in the relationship between tourists and locals, the tourists are the privileged ones who have gotten to travel, and thus if they want to make a contribution and get involved they need to do it on the locals' terms. This position is precisely what would bode well for tourism in low-income communities, as highlighted above, who are looking to conduct tourism on their own terms for tourists who understand this dynamic. Yet this is not what happened in the low-income communities where GCY ventured. Thus, I turn to looking at the intersections between the low-income communities and the cosmopolitan tourists in order to show the outcomes.

### **7.3 Intersections between low-income tourism and cosmopolitan tourists**

Intersections between low-income tourism and cosmopolitan tourists largely happened when tourists stayed, volunteered and in some cases both in low-income communities, thus bringing tourism to those communities. GCY was exemplar in trying to promote these experiences. In some cases, the tourists were in the same communities that are working to establish tourism, albeit via a different model than having one or two people reside and volunteer in the neighborhood. Through all of the experiences between GCY and low-income communities, even if those communities had not been explicitly working to establish tourism, we can start to understand what happens when social inclusion is sought on these different levels.

For, even if we do not know that an individual was seeking social inclusion specifically, we know that it is a potential outcome and goal for tourism.

In evaluating the findings about the convergence of cosmopolitan tourists with low-income communities, I start with the experience of Stephanie, Sasha and Janice, all of whom were interviewed during the course of this research, and whose stories were independently important and significant because they intertwined. Stephanie was the GCY tourist who was originally assigned to stay with Janice, and she is also the one who seemed the least concerned about being socially included. Nevertheless, she was participating in and representing an organization that has inclusion as one of its objectives. Sasha was not supposed to stay with Janice but was there for over a month while waiting for a new assignment. She had originally expected to be close to her host family and for that host family to live in a low-income community. Meanwhile, Janice is one of the leaders of a community that has seen tourism as a way to bring more opportunities to neighborhood residents and is working to bring more tourism to the neighborhood. Thus, we can see how each of these people have a stake in obtaining social inclusion via tourism.

One of the things that was most apparent about the experience of these two tourists and Janice was their different expectations. For the tourists, there was an expectation for Janice to be home more often to engage them in a cultural exchange. Meanwhile, they also expected a certain degree of freedom so as not to have to be home by nine o'clock every night. Although Janice was not explicit about her expectations for the tourists, her statements in her interview showed little concern with any of the details of the program, including its name, and based on the tourists' descriptions, she seemed more concerned about the tourists' safety than about cultural exchange or providing for them economically. While Janice was not comfortable saying it,

Joana explicitly mentioned how the GCY tourists were problematic because they didn't listen to what the people of the neighborhood said, and presumably Janice's rules about being home at a certain time given what the tourists said about not meeting this expectation. Thus, not only did the tourists and hosts each have different expectations, but neither of them were prepared to meet the expectations of the other.

Having these different expectations and not meeting the expectations of the other had impacts on each of the two groups' quests for social inclusion. For example, for Stephanie and Sasha, Janice's differing expectations from theirs did not provide them with the family atmosphere that would have given them the cultural insights and opportunity for inclusion that they were looking for. Moreover, Janice's approach to things like money and the tourists' safety made them sufficiently uncomfortable, so as to want to leave the situation. They eventually did move, and their moving reflected the lack of sustainability of tourism to low-income neighborhoods that was detailed in chapter four. Even when tourists go into these neighborhoods, if certain things are not in place, this tourism will not be sustainable. In this case, Janice's lack of cultural capital to know how to deal with these tourists: offering them the cultural exchange experience and enough independence to not feel too controlled, led to its failure.

While this result is fairly common based on the data from chapter four, cosmopolitan tourism still raises expectations that tourists will be a little more understanding of the situations of the hosts and accepting of their realities, even if that does not make for the most comfortable tourist experience. Stephanie and Sasha's experience suggests that this was not the case. For example, Stephanie is critical of the low-income hosts calling them "stingy" and pointing out that they routinely gave their tourists less food than wealthier hosts, instead putting the money to

personal use. This comment indicates Stephanie's belief that the money the hosts were paid was supposed to go to taking care of the tourists and was not a payment for the inconvenience of hosting the tourists. Then, when Janice was not paying for the tourists' expenses to the island, where they were going as part of a "family excursion," the issue of money was even more of a point of contention for the tourists. Within this issue, at no point do the tourists acknowledge the challenges of Janice's situation or the inequalities of their realities with that of Janice. There seems to be relatively little understanding and empathy for Janice's reality.

This is significant, then in understanding the potentials for cosmopolitan tourism to bring about greater social inclusion and awareness of the realities of the hosts. Based on Sasha and Stephanie's experiences it appears that when the need to be understanding conflicts with tourists' sense of what is fair for them, or what they want to get out of an experience, it is very difficult to extend that understanding to the hosts. Rather the tourists will look to satisfy their own needs. Stephanie puts it very clearly when she says she would rather stay in a more comfortable situation with a great host family than to "tough it out."

Grace's experience in the low-income situation, similarly shows how in the end, the tourists' needs supersede the desire to be accepting of the hosts, thus making social inclusion of the hosts a lesser priority even in cosmopolitan tourism. However, Grace's reasons for this differ from Sasha's and Stephanie's in relation to Janice's house. Grace really wanted to have that inclusive experience that would show her the realities of Salvador. She wanted this so much that she was willing to move from a middle class home in a central and conveniently-located neighborhood to a low-income neighborhood on the periphery. This willingness to move, encapsulates the cosmopolitan tourist ideal, and the GCY program coordinator confirms that this is exactly what the program is about when talking about Grace in his interview. However, the

situation proved to be very difficult. This was not because Grace wanted to be able to stay out late and felt that the family should be spending more money on her, as were major concerns for Sasha and Stephanie. Grace, who is a vegetarian, ended up paying for the ingredients and making most of her own meals because she did not eat the food the family prepared. She discussed this in her interview as a matter-of-fact, rather than a complaint.

For Grace, the reason the situation was difficult was because she did not feel safe and stood out too much. Grace's neighborhood was so unaccustomed to receiving tourists, she said she was often asked if she was lost. She was also warned frequently about the dangers of her neighborhood, making it hard to know what are legitimate things to worry about, and what is an exaggeration. She had to spend hours on public transportation each day. Moreover, the risks for Grace as a newcomer to the neighborhood without the cultural capital of someone who has lived there a long time and without an appearance that can blend in, are likely even more significant than the risks for locals in many cases.

Her experience reflects what makes it difficult to bring tourism to low-income neighborhoods to begin with and what makes it hard to sustain it. Even with a well-intentioned and idealistic cosmopolitan tourist like Grace, it is very difficult to overcome the obstacles that low-income neighborhoods face in being attractive places for tourists to frequent. Of course with increased tourism, the issue of being out-of-place would be eliminated, but the problems with violence and extremely long commutes are understandably undesirable for tourists. Long commutes, in addition to being inconvenient, also bring increased risks. It is a rare person who is willing to risk his or her life to demonstrate that all neighborhoods are worth being visited. The fact that tourists like Grace are willing to do this at all, demonstrate the strong pull of the cosmopolitan status, both for altruistic and personal reasons. Thus, we see that the desire for

global citizenship does lead to some variation in typical tourist-host power dynamics, for tourists are subjecting themselves to more risky situations where they are even more dependent on locals. However, those situations are rarely sustained for long periods of time. Rather, those risks lead tourists to turn away from those situations, which can end up further excluding low-income locals.

In the case of Grace, the family who hosted her was not specifically looking to get involved in tourism, but because Grace had wanted a family in a low-income neighborhood, this family was approached. They agreed, only to be rejected a few months later when the situation proved too challenging. Then because of GCY's approach to these types of situations, they were further disempowered and excluded from being treated as equals by not being told the truth. This means that for every step towards greater equality that cosmopolitan tourists make, there is potential for setback. This setback is even more significant when it happens to people who have been socially excluded to begin with, like residents of low-income, peripheral neighborhoods in Salvador. Thus, as more programs like GCY emerge that attempt to do something different like send tourists to low-income neighborhoods, there also needs to be an awareness of the potential exclusions that could occur and steps could be taken to avoid them. Such steps could be changing the language and expectation surrounding tourists' inclusion and integration into the host society and treating the hosts as equals by being honest with them, not assuming that they need to be protected, and thinking that they, like the tourists, are capable of accommodating the other. Finally, the programs would benefit from a nuanced understanding of the power relationships between tourists and hosts, especially those tourists seeking inclusion and cosmopolitan status. The GCY tourists provided evidence of those nuances.

One of the cases that best demonstrates the complexity of the power relationships is

Sasha's apprenticeship. In her apprenticeship, she experienced much frustration, often due to the decisions made by the head of the organization where she was an apprentice. Her desire to be productive and do something that makes a difference, typical of tourists seeking global citizen status and inclusion, led her to expect more of her apprenticeship than was possible for the first five months given that the organization was not fully functioning for that time. Then, once it reopened, she felt even more pressure to do something, which she determined should be a garden. In order for her to do this, she needed support from the head of the organization, which was not always available due to the fact that he seemed to have other priorities. Thus, she experienced significant uncertainty and frustration in accomplishing her goal. In this relationship, Sasha is very dependent on the local head of the organization in order to feel satisfied with her experience. In this way, he has more power in the relationship than she does. Her relative lack of power is not reflected in the attitude that her program has regarding how the tourists should interact with hosts as seen in the way that GCY pushes assimilation. GCY is not unique in assuming tourists have more power. Numerous studies have pointed to the ultimate power that tourists possess in relationship to hosts (McKenna, 2014; Mahrouse, 2011, Conran, 2011). As pointed out in the conclusions about the inclusion of tourists, tourists' privilege to travel is often seen as the main determination of power and is what potentially positions tourists as able to facilitate social inclusion. Yet, through Sasha's case, we can see that the situation is more complex than that.

Sasha's lack of power in the situation lead her to respond by becoming critical and intolerant of differences. These are not unusual responses for someone who feels they are powerless to do anything else. That lack of power and risk of not accomplishing one's goals is threatening to tourists. This has an impact on their experience and based on the comments of

four of the five GCY tourists who showed significant discontentment with their experience, saying things like, they regret doing the program, they considered dropping out even in the last month of the program, they would not do it again, and they would not recommend it to anyone else. Some even worried about having wasted a year of their lives. Such feelings are unpleasant and reflect, in part, the relative lack of power they have in relationship to their hosts. For even if the tourists are privileged because they get to travel, at least part of their decision to engage in this type of experience is a result of habitus, or the unconscious factors that compel people to follow certain established paths (Bourdieu, 1977). As Snee discusses in her study of gap year participants in the UK, while there is some agency involved, much of their decision to engage in a gap year and behavior as a “gapper” are a result of habitus (Snee, 2014, p 1). In this case, feeling as though one has to travel and become cosmopolitan in order to get a competitive job is the product of one’s culture, which can be confining and controlling in a similar way that a lack of opportunities can be confining and controlling. Nevertheless, tourists do have ways to redeem themselves even after challenging and unpleasant tourist experiences.

Although many of the GCY tourists feared having wasted a year of their lives and not having accomplished their goals, ultimately, tourists can spin their stories in a variety of ways. Snee discusses how the gappers in her study, similarly were concerned about “making the experience count” (2014, p 148); however, she does not go so far as to consider the power that tourists have to do that no matter what the experience. As Alvaro mentioned in his interview, other people do not know the entire story, which means the experience can still be made to look good on his resume. Alvaro, like Sasha had a very frustrating apprenticeship experience which made him critical and less tolerant. That intolerance is not reflective of the global citizen ideal and he did not feel as though he had obtained inclusion because of his apprenticeship. Yet,



because other people do not know the details of his experience, and the summarized version speaks enough to global citizenship, he and his fellow tourists can easily claim global citizen status upon returning home. In this way, even if the tourists were unsuccessful in being included, facilitating inclusion, and adopting that cosmopolitan attitude of acceptance and understanding, they can still be included in the community of global citizens. Thus, for all the problems that tourists' desires for inclusion at the local level bring, both to themselves and to local people, ultimately, they can still be included at a global level, which is what underlies their desire for local inclusion. Meanwhile, low-income locals, who in some cases are the gatekeepers for tourists' inclusion at the local level, and in that way may acquire some additional power in relationship to tourists, still do not necessarily become included as fuller members of society through tourism. As depicted in chapter four in regards to how locals distrust their fellow residents who are low-income in their tourism endeavors and in chapter five in regards to the distrust of locals when tourists invite them into hosts' homes, there are major attitudes that are preventing inclusion locally. Hence, tourists do have more privilege to spin the experience in their advantage even if in the moment of tourism, they are weaker. It is this complexity that needs to be better understood in order for tourism organizations to develop more effective programs that can foster social inclusion for locals and for tourists to come closer to the essence of global citizenship rather than a façade for the resume.

In terms of understanding the dynamic of social inclusion in a global system, then, we see that tourists, who by virtue of their international origins and ability to travel represent the global level, and low-income residents who represent the local level are seeking a level of inclusion and belonging locally, while the tourists also seek inclusion globally. In their tourism encounters each group wields a certain amount of power over the other to achieve the desired inclusion.

Tourists can impact low-income residents' ability to be included through their lack of interest in or insufficient recognition of the value of the residents' tourism product or their realities. They can also take advantage of low-income residents' vulnerability, or treat them in a patronizing manner. Low-income residents can have an impact on tourists' inclusion by not providing them with the sought-after immersive experience, not being open to connecting with them, or not facilitating their productivity during their stay. Residents can also have an impact on inclusion when intimidating tourists through crime or threat of crime. Thus, through tourism, each group holds some power, while also being vulnerable due to their desires for achieving inclusion.

Despite these similarities, tourists, who are also seeking global inclusion, have a way out of their lack of success in achieving inclusion at a local level. Although there is a perception that the tourists need to be included locally in order to be included globally in the club of global citizens, the reality is actually that they can achieve that inclusion despite what happens locally. For that reason, the power that residents hold over the tourists is minimal and only temporary. Meanwhile, the residents, whose lack of inclusion locally makes it hard to appreciate or value inclusion on a global level, are still significantly held back by the power tourists wield over them. Thus, in order to level that inequality, inclusion on the global level should not be so automatic for tourists, and could be a more transparent process for local residents. The outcome of such a change would warrant further investigation and understanding.

#### **7.4 Limitations and future research**

In this study, I have explored these different attempts to use tourism to acquire social inclusion. Like all studies, this one has its limitations. In this case, the study could have been improved primarily by gaining access to more people in relationship to those I did interview. For example, interviewing more of the host families of the tourists interviewed, more of the

tourists of the host families interviewed, or more of the representatives of organizations like the tourist programs or the volunteer/apprenticeship sites. In many cases efforts were made to interview those people, but either tourists were hesitant to put me in contact with host families and organizations or tourists were no longer in Salvador or unwilling to be interviewed.

Although I would have liked to get more interviews of these people, I also recognize that gaining access through the tourists and seeming very much like a tourist myself, was unlikely to produce interview responses that reveal the extent of the locals' feelings and experiences. Moreover, pursuing those interviews may have jeopardized the confidence I had developed with some of the tourists. For that reason, it would have been better had I been able to develop my own relationships with these locals, which would have needed to come about over a longer period of time and after the tourists left, and I still would have needed to get contact information from the tourists. For better or worse, the period of my fieldwork overlapped completely with the stay of the GCY tourists.

Other limitations include not being able to get around Salvador easily and quickly, which sometimes meant choosing one research activity over another in a day. Another limitation is the fact that my English is much better than my Portuguese, which meant that the interviews in English had a different quality than those in Portuguese as mentioned previously. Finally, I think the research on tourism to low-income communities would have benefitted from staying, at least for a portion of my time, in one of the Astro communities. Because of their locations, it would have been difficult for me to pursue the other threads of my research, however, towards the end of my field research period, I did feel more comfortable getting to and from Calafate. As I was saying good bye, the Astro representative of Calafate told me that the next time I would have to stay there, and in keeping up with their developments via Facebook, I know that in the last year

they have turned one of their community buildings into a posada, so it would be possible.

This means that there is hope for future research, particularly on tourism in the community of Calafate that I could pursue. Other areas of future research that this study lends itself to include longitudinal studies about the impact of participation in cosmopolitan tourism activities on one's identity as a global citizen over a period of time, or exploring the gendered nature of both the cosmopolitan tourism trend and hosting tourists in one's home. Both of these could build upon this same study or be a part of a new study. As changes continue to develop in cosmopolitan tourism trends, something I anticipate due to the nature of this trend, further research can be done to see what outcomes those changes produce.

This research also opens up the door for more studies on community based tourism in urban settings and exploring what it means to be socially included in one's neighborhood, city, country and the world. While this study starts to unravel some of those different levels of social inclusion, there is much more to be done. As tourism continues to be viewed as an opportunity to facilitate greater global awareness and equality, we need to continue to look at tourism's success in this regard, identifying the nuances that will enable tourists and practitioners to move tourism closer to this ideal.

Finally, this study only begins to understand how social inclusion functions in a global system. It identifies and discusses some different levels of social inclusion: internal, local and global, but there are other levels that can be explored (for example, the national or regional levels) and other lenses through which to evaluate social inclusion. Increased connectivity both physical and virtual have facilitated a variety of different interactions in the social world that have changed who is included and who is not and who has the power to include and who does not. These dynamics have complicated power relationships in a variety of ways that are worthy

of understanding beyond what we have been able to do thus far.

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## **APPENDIX**

### **SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

#### **Interview questions for tourists**

##### **Background**

- 1) Where are you from?
- 2) What do you consider your home?
- 3) How long are you staying in Salvador?
- 4) What are your objectives and goals for your time in Salvador/Brazil?
- 5) How did you decide to travel to Brazil/Salvador?
- 6) Do you have other international travel experiences? To where?
- 7) How did you prepare for your time in Brazil?
- 8) Do you speak Portuguese?
- 9) What did you know about Brazil/Salvador before you came?

##### **Travel Experiences**

- 1) Where are you staying in Salvador?
- 2) What have you done so far in the city? Where have you gone?
- 3) Do you have a daily routine? If so, what is it?
- 4) How do you feel you are doing towards meeting your goals?
- 5) Have you had any particularly noteworthy experience (exciting, surprising, happy, intimate, unfortunate, or stressful)? Please describe.
- 6) How much contact do you have with local Brazilians? Please describe. Are you satisfied with that?
- 7) How much contact do you have with other foreigners? Please describe. Are you satisfied with that?
- 8) How do you feel about safety in Salvador?

##### **Citizenship/Identity**

- 1) How do you define citizenship?
- 2) In what ways do you engage in citizenship? And in Brazil?
- 3) While you are in Brazil do you feel that you have particular citizen responsibilities?
- 4) How would you draw the boundaries of your community? Does your sense of community in Brazil differ from when you are at home?
- 5) What is the most salient aspect of your identity? What else is important to your identity? Do you feel your identity has changed since you have been in Brazil?
- 6) Do your travels relate to your identity? How?
- 7) Do you feel like you manage your personal behavior differently in Brazil? Is there anything you do here you would not do at home? If so why do you think that is?

#### **Interview Questions for locals (translated from Portuguese)**

##### **Background**

- 1) Where are you from? How long have you lived where you are?
- 2) Where else have you lived?
- 3) What is your profession? For how long? What kind of training did it require?

- 4) Have you traveled to other cities or countries? Where? For what purpose?
- 5) What languages do you speak?

#### Experiences with tourists

- 1) Do you interact with tourists? In what capacity?
- 2) Please describe your interactions with tourists?
- 3) Have you had any particularly exciting, surprising, happy, intimate, unfortunate, or stressful experiences with tourists? Please describe.
- 4) How do you deal with issues of safety and danger with tourists?

#### Citizenship/Identity

- 1) How do you define citizenship?
- 2) In what ways do you engage in citizenship?
- 3) How would you draw the boundaries of your community? Do tourists belong to your community? Why/why not?
- 4) What is the most salient aspect of your identity? What else is important to your identity?
- 5) Does your interaction with tourists relate to your identity? How?
- 6) If you have traveled, does that affect your identity?
- 7) Do you feel like you manage your personal behavior differently when you are with tourists than when you are not? In what way? Why do you think that is?